This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

VITCOS, THE LAST INCA CAPITAL. — BINGHAM.

3.A.
B 513 v

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

LIBRARY

OF THE

PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN
ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

Bequest of
Roland Burrage Dixon

Received May 7, 1936

S.A. B 575 v

ARCHIVE

American Antiquarian Society

VITCOS,
THE LAST INCA CAPITAL

BY

HIRAM BINGHAM

Director of the Yale Peruvian Expedition

American Antiquarian Society

VITCOS,
THE LAST INCA CAPITAL

BY

HIRAM BINGHAM

Director of the Yale Peruvian Expedition

Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1912.

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1912

S.A. B 573 v

BEQUEST OF R. E. [illegible]
Rec. May 7, 1936

THE DAVIS PRESS
WORCESTER, MASS.

9115-A
58

VITCOS, THE LAST INCA CAPITAL.

I.

The origin of the *Yale Peruvian Expedition of 1911* lay in my desire to solve the problem of the last Inca capital and the country occupied by Manco Inca and his successors for thirty-five years after his revolt against Pizarro. On a journey across Peru from Cuzco to Lima on mule-back, in 1909,[1] I had visited Choqquequirau, an interesting group of ruins on a ridge surrounded by precipices 6,000 feet above the bottom of the Apurimac valley. The local traditions had it that this place was the home of Manco Inca after he fled from Pizarro's conquering hosts.[2] It was recorded that he took with him into the fastnesses of Vilcabamba[3] a great quantity of treasure, besides his family and courtiers. Nevertheless, Prescott does not mention the name of Vilcabamba, and only says that Manco fled into the most inaccessible parts of the cordillera. When the great Peruvian geographer, Raimondi, visited this region about the middle of the XIX Century no one seems to have thought of telling him there were any ruins in the Vilcabamba valley or indeed in the Urubamba valley below Ollantaytambo. He did, however, remember that the young Inca Manco had established

[1] Described on pp. 280-378 of "Across South America," published in 1911.

[2] See "The Ruins of Choqquequirau." American Anthropol. Oct., 1910.

[3] It appears to have been customary to speak of the country or place where Manco lived, sometimes as Vitcos, sometimes as Vilcabamba. For an instance of the former see: Spain. Ministerio de Fomento. "Relaciones geográficas de Indias." Publicalas el Ministerio de Fomento. *Peru.* Tomo IV. Madrid. 1897. p. 102.

himself in "Vilcabamba," and so he suggests that this "Vilcabamba" must have been in the valley of the Apurimac at Choqquequirau. He knew that interesting ruins had been found at this place by the French explorer Sartiges, and were described by him, under the *nom de plume* of *E. Lavandais*, in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" in 1851.[4]

Raimondi's proofs of the coincidence of Choqquequirau and Vilcabamba, and indeed one of our chief sources for the historical geography of the region, are to be found in a quaint old folio, written by the Augustinian, Father Calancha, in the XVII Century.[5] In his very verbose "Coronica Moralizada" he tells of the martyrdom in Vilcabamba of Fray Diego Ortiz, and its causes and consequences. Unfortunately for us, but quite naturally for him, his pages are full of "demonios," and their terrible manifestations. He has little room for geographical detail. But he does say that Pucyura, where the monks had one of their mission stations, was two or three days' journey from Vilcabamba. The present villages of these names are only two leagues apart, and it is evident that Calancha is not speaking of them. Furthermore, Raimondi visited both villages and saw nothing of any ruins in either place.[6]

---

[4] See: Lavandais, E. "Voyage dans les Republiques de l'Amérique de Sud. . ." Revue des Deux Mondes, Tome II. 1851.

[5] Calancha, Antonio de la. "Coronica moralisada del Orden de San Augustin en el Peru." . . Barcelona: 1638.

[6] It is evident from the last paragraph of the following quotation from Raimondi that no one told him of the ruins of Rosaspata, near Pucyura: . . . "El padre Calancha dice: 'Edifico Iglesia dos jornados largas de Vilcabamba en Puquiura, pueblo en que el Rey Inga tenia su Corte y sus ejercitos, siendo este el primer templo.' Las precedentes palabras dan a entender que Puquiura, distaba de Vilcabamba dos jornados largos, lo que es un error, pues dista apenas dos leguas. Podria ser este un error casual, escribiendo la palabra jornados en ves de leguas; pero yo creo que Calancha confundio la poblacion de Vilcabamba con el lugar donde residia el Inca, y que, como he dicho, hoy se conocen sus ruinas con el nombre de Choquequirao; pues desde Puc-yura a este lugar, habra cabalmente dos jornados de camino. Por otra parte, se comprende facilemente, como el padre Calancha haya cometido este error, pues casi todos los autores al hablar del lugar donde se retiro el Inca Manco, dicen que fue en los Andes de Vilcabamba, sin designar la poblacion. *Puc-yura, como se acaba de decir, dista de la poblacion de Vilcabamba unas dos leguas, se halla situada mas abajo en la quebrada, y en la actualidad es un miserable pueblicito, que consiste en una pequeña rancheria con una mesquina capilla.*" . . . . (Raimondi, Antonio. "El Peru." Tomo II. Lima: 1876. Page 161.)

As the only ruins described in this region were those of Choqquequirau, nearly all the Peruvian writers, including the geographer Paz Soldan, have fallen in with Raimondi's idea that this was the refuge of Manco. The word Choqquequirau means "cradle of gold." This lent color to the story in the Spanish chronicles that Manco had carried off with him from Cuzco great quantities of gold utensils for use in his new capital.

Personally I did not feel so sure that Choqquequirau was the Inca town of Vilcabamba. The ruins did not seem fine enough for an Inca's residence. There were certainly no "sumptuous palaces" all "built of marble." Furthermore, I was very anxious to visit the vicinity of Pucyura and see whether we could not find there stone remains of Inca occupation. No travellers seemed to have visited the ancient province and reported their discoveries, except Raimondi,—and he was not satisfactory. There were rumors of others, however, and the Spanish chroniclers who give in detail the story of the expedition which ultimately captured the last Inca, (Manco's third son, Tupac Amaru), and drove the family out of Vilcabamba, mention a certain number of places inhabited by the Incas.

After my visit to Choqquequirau in 1909, an assistant in the National Library at Lima, Carlos A. Romero, published a scholarly paper[7] on the ruins. He had not visited them, but had looked up all the references to them, and found the first occurrence of the word Choqquequirau was as late as 1768. The old name remains to be found. Furthermore Romero pointed out that the proper name for Manco's capital was Vitcos. From the contemporary accounts I came to the conclusion that Señor Romero was correct, and that it must be our aim to locate Vitcos.

Señor Romero expressed the opinion that Vitcos was near Pucyura, but as he had never been far from the

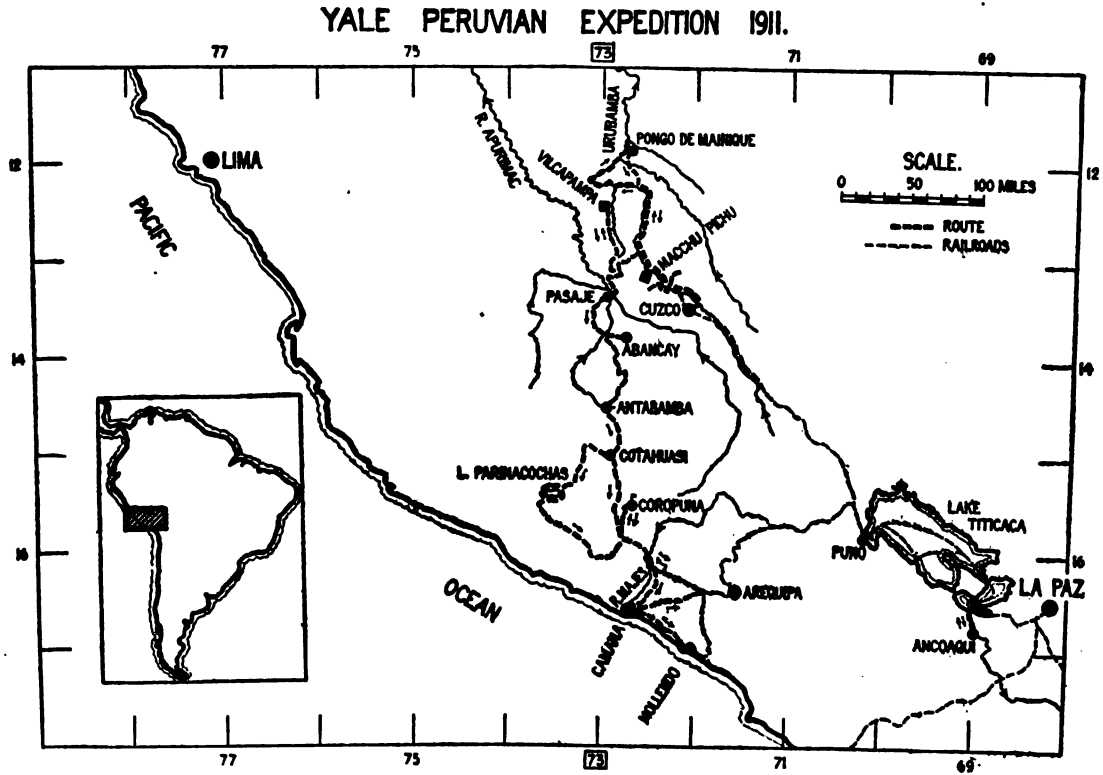
[7] Romero, Carlos A. "Informe sobre las Ruinas de Choqquequirau." Lima: 1909. (Instituto Historico del Peru.)

outskirts of Lima, and as Raimondi reported no ruins near Pucyura, we felt very uncertain of our chances. Apparently there is no part of the Inca empire so little known as Vitcos and Vilcabamba. This made me all the more anxious to carry an exploring expedition into the Vilcabamba valley, to see whether ruins could be found which might enable us to understand more clearly the history of the years between Manco's unsuccessful siege of Cuzco in 1536 and the capture of his grandson, Tupac Amaru, in 1571. The stories of the first missionaries who went into this region, and of the expedition that finally captured Tupac Amaru and brought him to Cuzco, contain the names of many places which do not exist on any map to-day. It was in order to elucidate this history, locate the places mentioned in it, and find out what kind of a capital Manco had established in the wilds of Vilcabamba, that the Peruvian Expedition was organized.

II.

Less than a hundred miles north of Cuzco lies the ancient province of Vilcabamba, an almost unexplored labyrinth of snow-clad peaks and deep green valleys. Practically cut off from central Peru by the magnificent canyon of the Apurimac, this mountainous province formed an ideal refuge for the young Inca Manco.

Readers of Prescott's charming classic or of Markham's recent "Incas of Peru," will remember that this unfortunate prince, a son of the great Inca Huayna Capac, was selected by Pizarro and his friends as the most available figurehead to set up as Inca and to rule in accordance with their dictates. His induction into office in 1534 with appropriate ceremonies, the barbaric splendour of which only made the farce the more pitiful, did little to gratify his natural ambition. As might have been foreseen, he chafed under restraint, escaped as soon as possible from his attentive guardians, and raised an army of faithful Quichuas. Then followed the


YALE PERUVIAN EXPEDITION 1911.
77
75
73
71
69
12
14
16
LIMA
PACIFIC
R. APURIMAC
VILCAPAMPA
URUBAMBA
PONGO DE MAINIQUE
MACCHU PICHU
PASAJE
CUZCO
ABANCAY
ANTABAMBA
COTAHUASI
L. PARINACOCHAS
COROPUNA
OCEAN
CAMANA
MOLLENDO
AREQUIPA
PUNO
LAKE TITICACA
LA PAZ
ANCOAQUI
SCALE.
0 50 100 MILES
ROUTE
RAILROADS

PLAN 1.

famous siege of Cuzco,[8] so vividly described by Prescott.

When Cuzco was relieved by Almagro, and Manco's last chance of regaining the ancient capital of his ancestors failed, he retreated in 1536 to the powerful fortress of Ollantaytambo. Here on the banks of the river Urubamba he made a stand. But the peaceful mountain Indians never have made good warriors, and, although aroused to their utmost endeavors by the presence of those magnificent stone edifices which a more energetic race erected more than a thousand years before, they decided to retreat. Driven out of Ollantaytambo, the young Inca Manco fled in a northerly direction, and made good his escape into the fastnesses of Vilcabamba. The Spaniards found his position practically impregnable. Vilcabamba, defended by nature in one of her profoundest moods, was only to be entered by marvelously constructed mountain trails, and by passing over roaring torrents on frail suspension bridges. These trails the energetic Manco found it easy to defend.

For the next ten years he lived and ruled in this wonderful region at a place variously called Vitcos,[9] Viticos,[9] Vidcos,[10] or Pitcos.[9] Safe from the armed forces of his enemies and using Vitcos as a base, he was accustomed to sally forth frequently and in unexpected directions. His

---

[8] The siege of Cuzco is briefly described by Don Alonso Enriques de Gusman, who took part in it. Of its character he says: "I am able to certify that this was the most fearful and cruel war in the world; for, between the Christians and Moors there is some fellow-feeling, and both sides follow their own interests in sparing those whom they take alive, for the sake of their ransoms; but in this Indian war there is no such feeling on one side or the other, and they give each other the most cruel deaths they can invent." (Life and Acts of Don Alonso Enriques de Gusman. Translated by Sir Clements R. Markham. p. 101.)

Other accounts of the siege are found in *Prescott:* vol. 2, chap. x. *Helps:* vol. iv, book xvii, chap. iii; *Garc. de Vega:* Comm. Real. pt. ii, lib. ii, cap. xxiv; *Herrera:* dec. iv, lib. 11, cap. iii, etc.

[9] All three spellings appear in: Peru. Juicio de Límites entre el Perú y Bolivia. Vol. VII. *Vilcabamba.* As follows. *Vitcos:* pp 200 and 302. *Viticos.* 79; 90; 97; 110; 218; 295; *Pitcos:* 316.

[10] For the spelling Vidcos see: Pietschmann. "Bericht des Diego Rodrigues de Figueroa über seine Verhandlungen met dem Inka Titu Cusi Yupanqui in den Anden von Villcapampa," pp. 94 and 97.

raids were usually successful. It was his custom to announce that they were in the nature of attempts to take vengeance on the Spaniards for what they had done to him and his family. It appears to have been relatively easy for him to cross the Apurimac from Vitcos and attack persons travelling on the great road from Lima to Cuzco. It was in order to make this road secure for travellers that Ayacucho was founded by Pizarro.

The contemporary account of Manco's life in Vitcos, written in 1550 by Cieza de Leon, is the best and most graphic that we possess. (I quote from Sir Clements Markham's translation):

"After the war at Cuzco between the Indians and the Spaniards, the King Manco Ynca, seeing that he could not recover the city of Cuzco, determined to retire into the provinces of Viticos, which are in the most retired part of these regions beyond the great Cordillera of the Andes. . ."[11]

"When it was known that Manco Ynca entertained this intention, many of the Orejones of Cuzco (the nobility of that city) wished to follow him. Having reached Viticos with a great quantity of treasure,[12] collected from various parts, together with his women

---

[11] Compare another account by the same author, as follows: ". . . con algunos que le siguieron é sus mujeres é sirvientes, é todo su tesoro, que no era poco, se fué á meter en las provincias de Viticos, que están metidas á la parte de Mediodia é más adentro de los Andes, porque allí le pareció estaria seguro de los cristianos, sus enemigos, é no oirian los relinchos y bufidos de sus caballos, ni las tajantes espadas cortarian más en sus carnes." . . . (Cieza de Leon, Pedro: "Guerras civiles del Perú. I. Guerra de Las Salinas.": *In* Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la historia de España. Tomo LXVIII pp. 337-338.)

[12] Compare also Cieza's other account in "Guerra de Las Salinas," (Col. de documentos inéd. para la hist. de España, p. 338:— . . . "Los indios é más principales orejones, que allí al presente estaban, alegremente oyeron á Mango Inga, é luégo se aparejaron para ir en voluntario destierro en aquella parte é provincias que arriba hemos dicho, é no sin gran afliccion de todos ellos acordándose de los placeres é deleites que habian tenido en el Cuzco y en las más partes de este reino. Llevaba Mango Inga muy gran cantidad de tesoro, é muchas cargas de rica ropa de lana delgada é muy vistosa; é con todo ello se metió en los Andes é allegó á Viticos, donde hizo su asiento en la comarca que tiene agora la ciudad de Guanuco. Hay grandes provincias é muchos indios, é andaba hecho tirano un Villatopa, de linaje de los Ingas, é habia juntado á sí muchos de los orejones, é obedeciéndole por capitan andaba maltratando á los naturales é arruinandoles sus pueblos."

and retinue, the King Manco Ynca established himself in the strongest place he could find, whence he sallied forth many times, and in many directions, to disturb those parts which were quiet, and to do what harm he could to the Spaniards, whom he considered as cruel enemies. They had, indeed, seized his inheritance, forcing him to leave his native land, and to live in banishment. These and other things were published by Manco Ynca and his followers, in the places to which they came for the purpose of robbing and doing mischief. As in these provinces no Spanish city had been built, the natives were given in *encomienda*, some to citizens of Cuzco, and others to those of the City of the Kings. Thus the Indians of Manco Ynca were able to do much harm to the Spaniards and to the friendly Indians, killing and robbing many of them.[13]

"These things rose to such a height that the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro sent captains against Manco Ynca. The factor Yllan Suarez de Carbajal, by order of the Marquis, set out from Cuzco and sent the captain Villa-diego to reconnoitre with a force of Spaniards, for there was news that the Ynca was not far distant from the place where he was encamped. Notwithstanding that they were without horses (which is the most important arm against these Indians), they pressed on because they were confident in their strength, and desired to enjoy the spoils of the Ynca, thinking that he had his women and treasures with him. They reached the summit of a mountain,[14] fatigued and exhausted, when

[13] "El rey Mango Inga Yupangui, habiéndose retirado á las espesuras de los Andes con los orejones é capitanes viejos que habian tratado la guerra con los españoles, é como no se hobiese fundada la ciudad de San Juan de la Vitoria de Guamanga, é los contratantes de Los Reyes é de otras partes iban con sus mercaderías al Cuzco, salian á ellos, é despues de les haber robado su hacienda los mataban, llevando vivos á algunos si les parecia, é hechas las cabalgadas se volvian á Viticos, principal asiento, é á los cristianos que llevaban vivos, en presencia de sus mujeres les daban grandes tormentos, vengando en ellos su injuria como si su fortuna pudiera ser mayor, é los mandaban empalar metiéndoles por las partes inferiores agudas estacas que les salian por las bocas; é causó tanto miedo saber estas nuevas, que muchos que tenian negocios privados é áun que tocaban á la gobernacion no osaban ir al Cuzco, si no fuesen acompañados y bien armados. . . ." Ciesa de Leon: "Guerra de Las Salinas." *In* Col. de Documentos inéd. para la historia de España, Tomo LXVIII, p. 424.)

[14] The mountain here spoken of is very likely one of the lofty passes from the Urubamba valley near Panticalla or Lares.

the Ynca, with little more than eighty Indians, attacked the Christians, who numbered twenty-eight or thirty, and killed the captain Villa-diego, and all his men, except two or three, who escaped with the aid of the friendly Indians. These fugitives presented themselves to the factor, who deeply felt the misfortune.[15] When the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro heard of it, he hastily set out from the city of Cuzco with a body of men, who had orders to pursue Manco Ynca. But this attempt also failed, for the Ynca retreated to his settlement at Viticos, with the heads of the Christians. Afterwards the captain Gonzalo Pizarro undertook the pursuit of the Ynca, and occupied some of his passes and bridges. At last, as the evils done by the Indians had been great, the governor Don Francisco Pizarro, with the assent of the royal officers who were with him, determined to form a settlement[16] between Cuzco and Lima (which is the City of the Kings), so as to make the road secure for travellers."[17] [18]

Garcillasso Inca de la Vega, born in Peru, 1539, a younger contemporary, gives this account of his cousin Manco's marauding expeditions during the years 1536-1546, while he was a boy living in Cuzco. (I quote from Sir Paul Rycaut's translation.)[19]

"Many years past, in the Time of his Father, Manco Inca, several Robberies were committed on the road by his Subjects: but still they had that respect to the

[15] For a more detailed account of this affair see: Ciesa de Leon: "Guerra de Las Salinas," *In* Coleccion de Documentos inéd. para la historia de España, Tomo LXVIII, pp. 425-431.—"Como Villadiego con los trienta cristianos fueron en seguimiento del Inga sin querer aguardar los caballos ni enviar aviso al Fator, é de cómo yendo muy cansados é fatigados, Mango Inga salió con ochenta indios é mató veinte é cuatro cristianos é los demas escaparon huyendo." (p. 427.)

[16] This city was later called Ayacucho.

[17] The Travels of Pedro de Ciesa de Leon. ed. by Markham, London: 1864, pp. 304-306.

[18] See also: Ciesa de Leon: "Guerra de Las Salinas," *In* Col. de documentos inéd. para la historia de España, Tomo LXVIII, pp. 440-443.—"De como el Gobernador D. Francisco Pizarro estando en la ciudad del Cusco tuvo nueva de la muerte del capitan Villadiego y de los otros españoles, é de como salió de aquella ciudad para se juntar con el Fator, é de la fundacion de la ciudad de Guamanga." (p. 440.)

[19] Garcilasso de la Vega, el Inca: "The Royal Commentaries of Peru, in two parts. . . rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut." London: 1688. p. 1009-1010.

Spanish Merchants, that they let them go free, and never pillag'd them of their Wares and Merchandise, which were in no manner useful to them; Howsoever they robbed the Indians of their Cattel bred in the Countrey, which they drove to the Markets, being enforced thereunto more out of necessity than choice; for their Inca living in the Mountains, which afforded no tame Cattel; and only produced Tigers, and Lions, and Serpents of twenty five and thirty Foot long, with other venomous Insects (of which we have given a large account in this History) his Subjects were compelled for the natural sustenance of their Prince, to supply him with such Food as they found in the hands of the Indians; which the Inca Father of this Prince did usually call his own, saying, That he who was Master of that whole Empire might lawfully challenge such a proportion thereof as was convenient to supply his necessary and natural support. But this passed only in the time of this Inca, and as I remember when I was a Child, I heard of three or four such Robberies, which were committed by the Indians."

The method of warfare and the weapons used by Manco and his followers at this time are thus described by by a contemporary soldier, Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman,[20] who fought against Manco. He says the Indians had no defensive, but many offensive arms, "such as lances, arrows, clubs, axes, halberds, darts, and slings, and another weapon which they call ayllas, consisting of three round stones sewn up in leather, and each fastened to a cord a cubit long. They throw these at the horses, and thus bind their legs together; and sometimes they will fasten a man's arms to his sides in the same way. These Indians are so expert in the use of this weapon, that they will bring down a deer with it in the chase. Their principal weapon, however, is the sling, which I have delayed mentioning to the last. With it they will hurl a huge stone with such force that it will

[20] Life and Acts of Don Alonso Enriques de Guzman, translated by Sir Clements R. Markham. p. 101.

kill a horse; in truth, the effect is little less great than that of an arquebus; and I have seen a stone, thus hurled from a sling, break a sword in two pieces, which was held in a man's hand at a distance of thirty paces. The Indians also adopted the following strategem: they made an endless number of deep holes, with stakes bristling in them, and covered over with straw and earth. The horses often fell into them; and the rider was generally killed."

Father Calancha, who published in 1639 his Moral Chronicle of the missionary activities of the Augustinians in Peru, devotes his fourth book largely to the Vitcos country and to Fray Diego Ortiz, who was martyred there. Father Calancha, (p. 792) adds in regard to Manco that after his attempt to regain Cuzco failed he "retired to the jungles and Andes of Vilcabamba, where he fortified himself, cutting bridges, blocking up passes, and stationing in the forests and on the mountain-sides armies of Indians, who, by throwing down boulders and quantities of rocks, rendered passing impossible. He gathered in Spanish fugitives, rascals worthy of his favor, obliging them to become declared enemies of our King and Queen. Gonzalo Pizarro entered [Vilcabamba] with three hundred men, and although he was unable to accomplish much of importance, returned from the jungles after losing many of his soldiers owing to the ruggedness of the land. The same thing happened to Rodrigo Ordoñez, who was sent by Diego de Almagro. Safe in that province, and obeyed by all the provinces, which in that region extend for two hundred leagues and more toward the east, and toward the south, where there were innumerable Indians in various provinces, Mañaries, Momoris, Sapacaties, and others, [the Inca] compelled the baptized Indians, who had fled from those provinces where the Spaniards govern, to abandon their faith, by torturing the Indians who after baptism did not worship the idols that he held."[21]

[21] Calancha, Antonio de la. "Coronica moralizada del Orden de San Augustin en el Peru, con sucesos egenplares en esta Monarquia. . ." Barcelona: 1638. Tomo I, p. 792-793:—(The text reads)—

This last story need not be taken too literally. It was a favorite trick of monastic writers to accuse heathen of torturing Christians.

Our account of what happened in Vitcos under the rule of Manco is rather meager. We do know, however, that he was kept well informed by Indian spies of what went on in the Viceroyalty. Perhaps the most exciting news that reached Vitcos was in regard to the New Laws. These "new laws" were the result of the efforts of the good bishop Las Casas to alleviate the sufferings of the Indians. They provided, among other things, that all the officers of the crown were to renounce their *repartimientos* or holdings of Indians, and that personal service of the natives was to be entirely abolished.[22] Holdings given to the conquerors were not to pass to their heirs, but were to revert to the king. In other words they gave evidence that the Spanish crown wished to be kind to the Indians, and did not approve of the action of the conquistadores. This was pleasant news for Manco. But the attempt in 1544 to introduce these laws into Peru, where the first Viceroy, Blasco Nuñez de Vela, undertook to execute them, was disastrous. The resistance took the form of a far-reaching rebellion, led by Gonzalo Pizarro, which resulted in the death of the Viceroy and the temporary suppression of all Spanish authority. Garcilasso de la Vega relates the story of how Manco heard the story and discussed it with

"Este Mancocapac des-pues del alçamiento general con que al-borotò este Reyno, i le tuvo a punto de recobrar, en que se derramò tanta sangre de Indios i Españoles, se retirò a las montañas, i Andes de Vilcabanba, donde se fortifiod cortando puentes, cerrando pa-sos, i poniendo sobre montes i laderas e- gercitos de Indios, que derribando gal-gas, i multitud de medias peñas, asian in-posible el passage, recogia Españoles fu-gitivos, que delinquentes se valian de su anparo, obligandolos a que fuesen ene-migos declarados contra nuestros Reyes. Gonçalo Piçarro entrò con trecientos onbres, i no aviendo obrado cosa de in-portancia, bolviò a salir de las montañas perdiendo muchos de sus soldados en las asperesas, i lo mismo le sucedio a Ro-drigo Ordoñes enbiado por Diego de Almagro. Asegurado ya en aquella Pro-vincia, i obedeciendole todas las Provin-cias, que por aquella parte se estienden docientas leguas i mas ázia el Oriente, i ázia el Sur, donde avia inumerables In-dios en varias Provincias, Manaries, Mo-moris, Sapacaties, i otras diversas, asia a-postatar a los Indios bautizados, que se huian destas Provincias donde los Españoles governavan, atormentando a los Indios, que despues del bautismo no a-doravan los Idolos que el tenia." (From Chap. 2.)

[22] Moses, Bernard. "Establishment of Spanish rule in America." N. Y. and Lond. 1898. pp. 99-102.

several Spanish refugees whom Calancha speaks of as "fugitive Spanish rascals," adherents of Almagro who had fled from the power of the Pizarros and taken up their abode with him in Vitcos. (I quote from Sir Paul Rycaut's translation, London: 1688.)[28]

"And here it is to be noted; That Diego Mandez and Gomez Perez, with six other Spaniards whom we formerly nominated, and mentioned to have made their escape out of prison, where they had been confined by the faction of the Pizarros, and by the Justice of Vaca de Castro; and having taken refuge with this Inca, they by his means came to know and receive all the Informations and Advices concerning the new Troubles and Dissensions arising upon the execution of the new Laws: for whereas it was reported that the Vice-king came to turn all things upside down, and to change and alter all the Constitutions of the Countrey; the Inca, who was encompassed within the craggy and lofty mountains, was informed by his Subjects of all these revolutions which he thought might be of benefit and concernment to him.

"With this news Diego Mendez and his Companions were highly pleased and persuaded the Inca to write a Letter to the Vice-king, desiring his Licence to be enlarged from his retirement, and appear in his presence, and serve his Majesty in any thing, as occasion should offer: the Inca was induced at the persuasion of the Spaniards to make this Petition, who told him, that it might be a means to open a way to his recovery of the whole Empire, or at least of the best part of it. The Spaniards also wrote as from themselves desiring a pardon for what was past, and a protection or safe conduct in the attendance of his Lordship, to perform their duty to him.

"Gomez Perez was the person appointed and elected to be Ambassadour from the Inca, attended with 10 or 12 Indians, who by command of the Inca were ordered

[28] Garcilasso de la Vega, el Inca: "The Royal Commentaries of Peru, in two parts . . . rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut. London: 1688. pp. 671-673.

to doe him service. And being come to the Vice-king, he presented his Letters of Credence to him, giving him a large relation of the State and Condition of the Inca, and of his true and real designs to doe him service. The Vice-king joyfully received the news, and granted a full and ample pardon of all crimes, as desired.[24] And as to the Inca he made many kind expressions of love and respect, truly considering that the Interest of the Inca might be advantageous to him, both in War and Peace. And with this satisfactory Answer Gomez Perez returned both to the Inca and to his companions..."

The refugees were delighted with the news and got ready to go. Their departure from Vitcos was prevented by an unfortunate accident, the result of a quarrel, thus described by Garcilasso:

"The Inca, to humour the Spaniards and entertain himself with them, had given directions for making a bowling-green; where playing one day with Gomez Perez; he came to have some quarrel and difference with this Perez about the measure of a Cast, the which often happened out between them; for this Perez, being a person of a hot and fiery brain, without any judgment or understanding, would take the least occasion in the world to contend with and provoke the Inca; who notwithstanding, being a very discreet person and of good temper, did moderate and disguise his passion, and would not refuse to play with him, as he did with other Spaniards, who were more obliging, and less offensive in their gaming: but Gomez Perez, being puffed up with the late favors he had received from the Vice-king, and with the hopes he had in a short time to disengage himself from that place, became more rude and insolent towards the Inca than he had formerly been; treating him with the same terms that he did those poor Indians who were

[24] Compare with the following from Calancha: Coronica Moralizada. 1638. Tomo I, p. 793: "Tratò de pases el Virrey Blasco Nuñes Vela valiendose de medios prudenciales, i de promesas, con seguros de rentas i señorios. Enbiò el Inga a que las asentase a un soldado de los q̃ se huyeron de la carcel del Cusco, llamado Gomes Peres. Assen-tò la pas, i fue una de las codiciones, que perdonase el Rey a los Españoles delin-quentes, que tenia en Vilcabanba fugitivos. . . . ."

his servants and slaves. At length Gomez Perez became so intolerably insolent, that, playing one day with the Inca, he so affronted him, that, being no longer able to endure his rudeness, he punched him on the breast, and bid him to consider with whom he talked. Perez, not considering in his heat and passion either his own safety or the safety of his Companions, lifted up his hand, and with the Bowl struck the Inca so violently on the head, that he knocked him down:[25] The Indians hereupon, being enraged by the death of their Prince, joined together against Gomez and the Spaniards, who fled into a house, and with their Swords in their hands defended the door, the Indians set fire to the house, which being too hot for them, they sallied out into the Market-place, where the Indians assaulted them and shot them with their Arrows untill they had killed every man of them: and then afterwards, out of mere rage and fury they designed either to eat them raw as their custome was, or to burn them and cast their ashes into the river, that no sign or appearance might remain of them; but at length, after some consultation, they agreed to cast their bodies into the open fields, to be devoured by Vulters and birds of the air, which they supposed to be the highest indignity and dishonour that they could show to their Corps.

"This was the fate and unhappy destiny of the poor Prince Manco Inca, to perish by the hands of one whom he had protected, and nourished and entertained with all the hospitality he could show: thus we see, when a man's time is come, that neither his voluntary exile, nor the inaccessible rocks to which he was fled for refuge, were

---

[25] For another account of the death of Manco, suggesting that the game was chess, and not bowls, see: Coleccion de documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias, Vol. VIII, page 264, where the anonymous author of "De virreyes y gobernadores del Perú. *Virrey D. Francisco de Toledo,*" says: ". . . El Inga estaba muy acespañolado, y sabia los juegos que los españoles jugaban, que entonces eran bolos, tablas y el agedres. Y estando un dia juugado con el capitan Diego Mendes, tuvieron sobre el juego, que unos decian, era el agedres, otros los bolos, diferencia, de manera, que con cólera y poco entendimiento y menos reportacion, dijo el huésped al Inga y señor: "Miren el perro!" Y el Inga alsó la mano y dióle un bofeton. El capitan metió mano de una daga y dióle de puñaladas, de que luego murió. . ."

able to defend him from the stroke of a rash fool and mad-man, who was destitute of all sense and reason. . . I have informed myself very perfectly from those Incas, who were present and eye-witnesses of the unparalleled piece of madness of that rash and hair-brained fool; and heard them tell this story to my Mother and Parents with tears in their eyes. . . ."[26]

This unfortunate event, which seems to have occurred about 1545, brought to an abrupt close the reign of this most attractive and vigorous personality.

The Inca Manco left three young sons, Sayri Tupac, Titu Yupanqui, and Tupac Amaru.[27] Sayri Tupac became Inca in his father's stead, and with the aid of regents, reigned in Vitcos for ten years without disturbing his Spanish neighbors or being annoyed by them. We know little of what happened in Vitcos during this decade.

In 1555 a new viceroy, Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, came to Lima.[28] He decided that it would be safer if he could have the young Inca within reach instead of living in the inaccessible wilds of Vilcabamba. It was a difficult matter. The viceroy very wisely undertook to accomplish it through the princess Beatrix Coya, an aunt of the Inca who was living in Cuzco and who might be expected to be glad to see her nephew in that city, even though she could not expect that he would be restored to his empire. She took kindly to the viceroy's suggestion and dispatched to Vitcos a messenger who was of the blood royal, attended by Indian servants. He had great difficulty in his journey, for he met with bad bridges and hilly roads. Finally he arrived where were the guards on the frontiers and gave them notice of the official message which he had for the Inca. Then there was held a meeting of the

---

[26] "The Royal Commentaries of Peru, in two parts. . . written originally in Spanish, by the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, and rendered into English, by Sir Paul Rycaut. London: 1688. Part II. Chap. VI. p. 673.

[27] Markham: "Incas of Peru." p. 259.

[28] Markham: "Incas of Peru." p. 273.

Captains and Regents who as Tutors ruled the young Inca who had not at that time reached the age when he could assume the Red Fringe "which is their royal crown."[29]

The regents, on receiving this courteous message and cordial invitation were not inclined to believe that it was quite so attractive as appeared on the surface, even though it was brought to them by a kinsman. Accordingly they kept the ambassadors as hostages and sent a messenger of their own to Cuzco to see if he could discover any foul play, and also to request that one John Sierra, a trusted cousin, be sent to treat in this matter.

All this took time, and the viceroy, becoming impatient, despatched from Lima a Dominican friar, named Melchior de los Reyes, and with him a citizen of Cuzco, named John Betanzos, who had married an Inca princess, the daughter of the unfortunate Atahualpa. This John Betanzos pretended to be very learned in his wife's language, and for this reason, and because he was related to the Inca, he started off quite confidently for Vitcos. After leaving Lima they did not go via Cuzco, but turned aside near Ayacucho, as that was the nearest of any of the entrances to Vitcos.[30] But apparently the Inca's generals, fearing lest the Spaniards should use this road to make a sudden attack, had destroyed the bridges across the Apurimac and made it impossible for anyone to reach Vitcos that way. Betanzos tried another route by a road leading from the town of Andahuaylas, but here also was disappointed, and finally had to go to Cuzco. His zeal was not appreciated by the governor of Cuzco, who feared it might interfere with the success of the measures which he himself had undertaken in order to carry out the wishes of the viceroy. Accordingly the governor requested Friar Melchior and John Betanzos to wait and go with John Sierra, whose presence had been requested by the Inca. This was agreed upon,

---

[29] Garcilasso: Hist. Gen. Madrid: 1772. (p. 474.)

[30] Garcilasso de la Vega: Hist. Gen. Madrid: 1723. p. 474.

but they got restless in Cuzco and left the city, promising to wait for the embassy on the road. Their real purpose, however, was to secure the honor of being the first ambassadors to reach the Inca, and they travelled as fast as they could to the Chuqui-chaca bridge, which is the key to Vilcabamba on the east side. Here they were detained by the Inca's soldiers.

A day or so later John Sierra, accompanied by the messenger sent by the Inca to Cuzco, arrived at the bridge and was allowed to proceed, while the friar and Betanzos were still detained. John Sierra was welcomed by the Inca and his friends, and did his best to encourage Sayri Tupac to accept the viceroy's offer. After he had delivered the message, Betanzos and the friar were also sent for, and admitted to the presence of the Inca. They brought with them several pieces of velvet and damask, and two cups of silver gilded, together with other presents which the viceroy supposed the Inca would be glad to have. The Inca's first decision was that he would have nothing to do with the viceroy, but remain free and independent of him as he had hitherto done, and he gave orders that the ambassadors should immediately return with their letters and presents.

A few days later, however, he sent for John Sierra, and after a personal conversation with him, seemed well satisfied, and, after some hesitation, decided to leave the matter to the consideration of his regents. They appear to have had a long debate, although they did not detain the friar or John Sierra, but sent them back by one of the western approaches, by which they had tried in vain to reach Vitcos. The captains and tutors of the Inca examined the omens, observed the flying of birds, and the nature of the weather, but, according to Garcilasso,[31] made no inquiries of the devil, because he lost the power of speech in all Peru as soon "as the sacraments of our Holy Mother, the Church of Rome, entered the country."

---

[31] Garcilasso de la Vega: Hist. Gen. p. 477.

The omens were favorable, and the regents finally decided to allow Sayri Tupac to accept the invitation of the viceroy and live under Spanish protection, especially as the Inca was very anxious himself to leave the fastnesses of Vilcabamba and see something of the world. He went directly to Lima, by one of the western routes, travelling in a litter made of rich materials, and carried by relays chosen from three hundred Indians who attended him and whom he brought with him from Vilcabamba. He was kindly received by the viceroy, then went back to Cuzco, enjoying quite a triumph on the way.

A pleasant incident of his Cuzco visit is given by Garcilasso in the following words:

"The Prince having passed Huamanca, by easie Journies came at length to Cozco, and lodged in the House of his Aunt Donna Beatriq, which was on the back side of my Fathers dwelling, to which place all those of the Royal Blood, both men and women resorted to welcome him to the Imperial City: and I my self went in the name of my Father, to ask leave that he might personally come and pay his respects to him; I found him then playing at a certain game used amongst the Indians, of which I have given an account in the first part of these Commentaries; I kissed his hands, and delivered my Message; he commanded me to sit down, and presently they brought two guilded cups of that Liquor, made of Mayz, [i. e. chicha] which scarce contained four ounces of Drink; he took them both, and with his own Hand he gave one of them to me; he drank, and I pledged him; which as we have said, is the custom of Civility amongst them. This Ceremony being past, he asked me, Why I did not meet him at Villcapampa? I answered him, Inca, as I am but a Youngman, the Governours make no account of me, to place me in such Ceremonies as these. How, replied the Inca, I would rather have seen you than all the Friers and Fathers in Town, though it were the Father in the Frock, or he in the Surplice; and tell my Aunt, That I kiss her Hands, and that she

should not come hither, for I will wait upon her my self, and rejoyce at our happy meeting.

"In this manner, he entertained me a great while, making many enquiries of my condition, and how I spent my time; and taking my leave of him, he desired me often to visit him. As I was going away, I made him a submissive bow and reverence, after the manner of the Indians, who are of his Alliance and Kindred, at which he was so much pleased, that he embraced me heartily, and with much affection, as appeared by his Countenance."[32]

Sayri Tupac now received the sacred Red Fringe of Sovereignty, was married to a princess of the blood royal, joined her in baptism, and then took up his abode in the lovely valley of Yucay, a day's journey northeast of Cuzco. Apparently he never returned to Vitcos. He died three years later, in 1650, leaving two brothers; the older, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, illegitimate, and the younger, Tupac Amaru, his rightful successor, an inexperienced youth.

The power was seized by Titu Cusi, the older brother, who set up his court in Vilcabamba, probably at Vitcos. He and his brother seem to have been suspicious of the untimely death of Sayri Tupac, and to have felt that the Spaniards were capable of more foul play. So they stayed quietly in Vilcabamba. Their first visitor, so far as we know, was Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa, whose story is told by Richard Pietschmann, in his pamphlet entitled: "Bericht des Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa, über seine Verhandlungen mit dem Inka Titu Cusi Yupanqui in den Anden von Villcapampa," published in Göttingen in 1910. (43 pages.) The next appears to have been an Augustinian missionary. Father Calancha writing a few years later gives the following description of their kingdom and its first missionary:

"Vilcabamba and its forested mountains runs due north of Cuzco for more than fifty leagues, and extends

[32] Garcilasso de la Vega: Royal Commentaries. . . rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut. London: 1688. p. 998.

to the East and Southeast for fourteen degrees of longitude. It lies east of Lima.[33]

"It is a hot zone, mountainous and forested, although it has parts that are very cold and some barren uplands [punas.] It has silver bearing hills, from which even today some ore is taken, and considerable gold, of which in those days much was gathered. . ."[34]

"In the valley of Vilcabamba a town was afterwards founded, which today is called San Francisco de la Vitoria en Andesuyo,[35] in the Cordillera more than twenty leagues from Cuzco by the eastern route. This district is rough, and its forested mountains are magnificent. It is a land of moderate wealth, large rivers, and the usual rains. Into these mountains and forests came Father Marcos Garcia in the year 1566. He had been Vicar and Priest of the town and valley of Capinota during three preceding years, and from the success that he had among those infidels flamed up his desire to seek souls where no preacher had been, and where the preaching of the faith had not been heard. He belonged to a monastery in Cuzco, and announced his sacred impulse to the worthy brother Iuan de Vivero, who was Prior and Inspector of those districts. The latter realized his desire had the merit of obedience, and so, giving him ornaments, and what was necessary for his journey, sent him to the conversion of those infidels. His entrance cost him much labor, because as I have said, the Inca had cut the bridges, blocked up the passes, and destroyed the roads. Father Marcos entered Vilcabamba without other arms than the sinews of obedience and the spirit that a good zeal gives, taking as an escort in the face of such open enemies the desire to suffer for Christ, and the confidence of His Divine support. The Spaniards had not entered on the conquest of that country, and would not do so for three years. When he encountered an Indian who was going to or coming

[33] Calancha: Coronica Moralisada. Barcelona: 1638. p. 793.

[34] Calancha: Coronica Moralisada. Barcelona: 1638. p. 794.

[35] Antisuyu.

from Vilcabamba, and asked him about the road, pass, or ford by which he might go where the Inca was, either they told him that they did not know (for thus their king had instructed them), or they piled up the impossibilities and difficulties of the road, and gave him no hope whatsoever, unless he should be able to change himself into a bird. . ."

"After various difficulties, he arrived in the presence of the Inca, who received him angrily, being quite as much annoyed at seeing that Spaniards could enter his retreat, as at seeing among his towns a missionary preaching against his idolatries. Father Marcos was successful, however, in being able to carry out his desire, and has freedom to preach. Therefore he came out openly and displayed the standard of the faith. He built a church, two long days journey from Vilcabamba, in Puquiura, a town in which the Inca had his court and armies, this being the first temple. He planted crosses in the fields and on the mountains, these being the best things to frighten off devils. The temple was the sole bulwark of the faith. Here the Blessed Sacrament (may it be forever praised) gave battle against an idolatrous king, surrounded by infidel armies, although it had only one soldier, poor, broken, and humble. It is difficult to believe how much this monk suffered. He had for adversaries legions of devils, who roared menaces at the priests, at their servants, and even at travellers, for having allowed the friar to build the chapel and to preach against their ancestral rites and ancient gods. Their chief divinity they call Punchao, i. e., the Day."[36]

---

[36] Calancha: Coronica Moralisada. Barcelona: 1638. pp. 793-794. (The text reads as follows);

"Està Vilca-bâba, i sus montañas norte sur del Cuzco mas de cinquenta leguas en cator-se grados, estendiendose al Oriente, i a los lados de lessueste, i cae à leste de Lima.

"Es tierra caliente de Andes i montuosa, aunque tiene partes muy frias, i punas destenpladas. Tiene cerros de plata, de que asta oy se saca alguna cantidad, i cria oro, de que en aquellos tienpos se cogia mucho. Su rio es uno de los que dan cuerpo al gran rio del Marañon, que desagua en el mar del Norte, i teniendo alli los pies (pues es lo ultimo) le lla-man boca del Marañon, que tiene de un labio a otro, i desta a otra orilla mas de cinquẽta leguas, segun la relaciõ de mu-chos, i corre desbocado cõ tener tangran boca. En el valle de Vilcabanba se fun-dò despues el pueblo, que oy se llama san Francisco de la

The principal shrine of the Inca, the holiest place near Vitcos, is described as follows. (I give a free translation from Calancha's Chronicle:)

"*Close to Vitcos, in a village called Chuquipalpa, is a House of the Sun, and in it a white stone over a spring of water*[37] where the Devil appears as a visible manifestation and was worshipped by those idolators. This was the principal *mochadero* of those forested mountains. (The word "mochadero" is the common name which the Indians apply to their places of worship.) In other words it is the only place where they practise the ceremony of kissing. The origin of this, the principal part of their ceremonial, is that very practise which Job abominates when he solemnly clears himself of all offen-

---

Vitoria en Andesuyo entre la cordillera de los Andes mas de veynte leguas del Cusco a la parte del Oriente, es su comarca aspera i grandes sus montañas, es tierra de moderado re-galo, grandes rios, i casi ordinarias llu-vias. A estos Andes i montañas entrò el Padre fray Marcos Garcia por el año de 1566. aviendo sido Vicario i Dotrinan-te del pueblo i valle de Capinota los tres años antecedentes, i del fruto que izo en aquellos infieles, encendio los de-seos de buscar animas dõde ningun pre-dicador uviese entrado, ni el pregon de la Fé se uviese oido. Era conventual en el Cusco, i comunicando su santo in-pulso con el memorable Padre fray Iuan de Bivero, que era Prior i Visitador de aquellas comarcas le realçò el deseo con el merito de la Obediencia, i dan-dole ornamentos, i lo preciso para el via-ge, lo enbio a la conversion de aquellos infieles. Padecio trabajos en la entrada, porque como se dijo, avia el Inga corta-do puentes, desbarrãcado pasos, i anega do caminos. Entrò el Padre fray Mar-cos sin mas armas, que los brios que dà la Obediencia, i con los animos que dà el buen zelo, llevando por escolta a vista de tan declarados enemigos el deseo de padecer por Cristo, i la confiança de sus Divinos socorros. No avian entrado Es-pañoles a la conquista de aquella tierra, ni entraron en aquellos tres años. Quã-do encontrava algun Indio que iva o venia de Vilcabanba, i le preguntava por el camino, páso o vado para ir a-donde estava el Inga, o le decian, que lo ignoravan (que asi los tenia industria-dos su Rey) o le ponderavan inposibles, i dificultades, no dejandole esperança umana, sino se convertia en pajaro. Quantas veses diria lo que David, viendose en estrecho semejante, si yo confio en Dios, como me decis, que si quiero pasar de una parte a otra, que me convierta en pajaro i buele de un mon-te a otro, como que la caridad no tuvie-ra mas ligeras alas que la ave mas ve-los? Llegò despues de varios trabajos a la presencia del Inga, que lo recibio eno-jado, sintiendo tanto el ver que podian entrar Españoles a sus retiros, como ver predicador contra sus idolatrias en sus pueblos. Fuele ganando lo volũtad el Pa-dre fray Marcos, i tuvo licencia para pre-dicar, con que soltò la capa, i desplegò el estandarte de la Fè. Edificò Iglesia dos jornadas largas de Vilcabanba en Pu-quiura, pueblo en que el Rey Inga tenia su Corte i sus egercitos, siendo este el primer tenplo. Plantò Cruses en la tier-ra i en los montes, siendo ellas las que ahuyentan Demonios, i aquel Tenplo el baluarte de la Fè, donde peleava el santisimo Sacramento (que sea alabado por sienpre) contra un Rey idolatra, cercado de egercitos infieles, teniendo solo un soldado pobre, roto i umilde. Quanto padeceria este Religioso te-niendo por contrarios legiones de De-monios que bramavan amenaçando a e-chiseros, a sus paniaguados i a otros viã-dantes por aver consentido al frayle el Tenplo, i que se predicase contra sus pa-ternos ritos i antiguos Dioses? El Dios principal que adoravan era el Punchao, que es el dia. . . . . ."

[37] The italics are mine.

ces before God and says to Him: "Lord, all these punishments and even greater burdens would I have deserved had I done that which the blind Gentiles do when the sun rises resplendent or the moon shines clear and they exult in their hearts and extend their hands towards the sun and throw kisses to it, an act of very grave iniquity which is equivalent to denying the true God."[38]

Thus does Father Calancha refer to the practice in Vilcabamba and elsewhere in Peru of that particular form of worship of the heavenly bodies, so widely spread in the East, in Arabia and Palestine, which was inveighed against by Mohammed as well as the ancient Hebrew prophets. Apparently it was practised here in the House of the Sun, in Chuquipalpa close to Vitcos in the reign of the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui.

Calancha goes on to say: "This (ceremony, the throwing of kisses to the sun), is among the Indians the outward action in which they show the delicacy [or the finest part] of the Gentile worship, and is the ceremony of the most profound resignation and reverence. And so it is that the places where they go to worship and to throw kisses to their Idol are called mochaderos."[39]

It may be interesting to note in passing that the Inca word for kiss is *mucha*, while *muchani* means to kiss the hands.[40] [41]

---

[38] Calancha: Coronica Moralisada. Barcelona: 1638. p. 796. (The text reads as follows):

"Iunto a Vitcos, en un pueblo que se di-ce Chuquipalpa estava una casa del Sol, i en ella una piedra blanca encima de un manantial de agua, donde el Demonio se aparecia visible, i era adorado de a-quellos idolatras, siendo el principal mo-chadero de aquellas montañas (la palabra mochadero es el nonbre vulgar con que los Indios nonbran a sus adoratorios) quiere decir lo mismo, que lugar donde besan, originase de que la ceremonia principal que usan, es la que abomina Iob a, quando se pone a quentas cõ Dios, i le dice: Señor, todos estos castigos, i ma-yores trabajos mereciera yo, si uviera ẽcho lo que asen los ciegos Gẽtiles, quã-do sale el sol resplandeciente, i la luna clara, i alegrandoseles el coraçon estien-den la mano ásia el sol, i la buelven a la boca besandola, que es iniquidad muy grande, i negar a Dios verdadero."

[39] Calancha: Coronica Moralisada: p. 796. (The text reads):

"Esta es en los Indios la accion exterior con que muestran lo fino de su adoracion Gentilica, i es la ceremonia de mas pro-funda sumision i culto; i asi los luga-res donde van a adorar, i a estender la mano ásia el Idolo besandola, se lla-man mochaderos."

[40] See: Holguin, D. G. "Arte y diccionario Qquechua-Español." Lima: 1901.

[41] For other references to this custom see: Markham, Sir Clements R. "Narratives of the rites and laws of the Yncas." London: 1873. pp. 37, 43, 44, 83, 89, 90, 114, and 115.

Father Calancha continues: "In this white stone of the aforesaid House of the Sun, which is called Yurac rumi [meaning in Quichua, a white rock], there attends a Devil who is Captain of a legion. He and his legionaries show great kindness to the Indian idolators but great terrors to the Catholics. They abuse with hideous cruelties the baptized ones who now no longer worship them with kisses, and many of the Indians have died from the horrible frights these devils have given them."[42]

"Father Marcos suffered many insults at the hands of the chiefs and principal followers of the Inca. Some of them did it to please the Devil, others to flatter the Inca, and many because they disliked his sermons, in which he scolded them for their vices and abominated among his converts the possession of four or six wives. So they punished him in the matter of food, and forced him to send to Cuzco for victuals. The Convent sent him hard-tack, which was for him a most delicious banquet."[43]

"During the rule of the Licenciate Lope Garcia de Castro, (1564-1569), another Augustinian missionary, Fray Diego Ortiz, left Cuzco alone for Vilcabamba. He suffered much on the road, not so much on account of the distance, for it is only a little more than ten leagues from Cuzco to the frontier of Vilcabamba, as on account of having to hunt for a practical route. He had no guides to tell him how to enter these forested mountain fastnesses. There were no bridges, and the fords were constantly shifting. However, he reached the retreat

---

[42] Calancha: Coronica Moralisada. Barcelona: 1638, p. 796. (The text reads as follows): "En esta piedra blan-ca de aquella casa del sol llamada Yu-racrumi asistia un Demonio capitan de una legion; este i su caterva mostravan grandes cariños a los Indios idolatras, i grandes asombros a los Catolicos, u-sava con los bautizados, que ya no le mochavan, espantosas crueldades, i mu-chos mo rian de los espantos orribles que les mostrava. . . . ."

[43] Calancha: Coronica Moralisada. Barcelona: 1638. p. 797. (The text reads): "Muchos baldones sufria el Padre fray Marcos, ya le perseguian muchos de los Caziques i principales, unos por adu-lar al Demonio, otros por agradar al In-ga, i gran parte por aborrecer sus sermones, en que repreendia sus vicios i abo-minava en los bautizados el tener qua-tro i seys mugeres; castigavanle en la comida, i fuele necesario enbiar al Cus-co por alimentos, de donde el Conven-to le enbiava bizcocho, que era su ma-yor banquete." . . . .

of the Inca, and entered his presence in company with Fray Marcos. Although the Inca was not too happy to see a new preacher, he was willing to grant him an entrance because the Inca knew Fray Marcos had become discontented, and wanted to return to Cuzco. Furthermore, he thought Fray Diego would not vex him nor take the trouble to reprove him. So the Inca gave him a license. They selected the town of Huarancalla, which was populous and well located in the midst of a number of other little towns and villages. There was a distance of two or three days journey from one Convent to the other. Leaving Fray Marcos in Puquiura, Fray Diego went to his new establishment, and in a short time built a church, a house for himself, and a hospital—all poor buildings, which the Indians, out of love and affection, made in a short time. He also started a school for children, and became very popular through his physical and spiritual ministrations as he went about healing and teaching.[44]

---

[44] Calancha: Coronica Moralisada. Barcelona: 1638. p. 801. (The text reads):

"Saliò del Cusco para Vilcabanba sien-do Provincial el Padre maestro fray Iuan de san Pedro, i governando el Perù el Licenciado Lope Garcia de Dastro del Consejo Real de las Indias, el bendito fr. Diego Ortiz solo, aunque aconpañado de ardiente caridad, que ella sola es un egercito copioso, i al subit montes, i pa-sar laderas dirian lo que de la Esposa (q̃ todo es uno esposa de Dios i anima san-ta) los Angeles que caminando sola le cuetan ileras de soldados, tercios de conpañias i mangas de egercitos. Si va sola, donde lleva tanta gente? Es que ese egercito està formado en la canpaña de la caridad, i alli estan viendo los An-geles que cada deseo es un soldado, i ven las a animes q̃ à de rendir i traer a Dios, que como si ya estuvieran vencidas, i Dios las tuviera debajo de su bandera a-listadas, asi se las cuentan ya por solda-dos de su conpañia, i por oficiales de su egercito, que la caridad a solas tiene por soldados a los deseos que lleva, i a los que à de convertir antes que los convier-ta, que tan adelantados tiene la caridad i el deseo de ganar animas los precios i los socorros. Despues de aver padecido mucho el Padre fray Diego en los caminos, no tanto por las leguas i distancia, pues desde el Cusco asta las prime-ras tierras de Vilcabanba ay poco mas de dies leguas, quanto por aver de bus-car rodeos, i no taner guias para entrar en las montañas, por estar (como se à di-oho) los rios sin puentes, i mudarse con cada avenida los vados. Entró en los retiros del Inga, i en conpañia del Padre fray Marcos fue a su presencia, i si no se alegrò mucho de ver al nuevo Predica-dor, gustò de su entrada porque sabia que el Padre fray Marcos andava des-contento, i deseava bolverse al Cusco, i pensaria que el Padre fray Diego por no enojarle, no trataria de repreen-derle.

"Diòle la licencia el In-ga, mostrando plaser de acudir a su rue-go, i escogiò el pueblo de Guarancalla, que era populoso, i tenia estelage conpe-tente para acudir a otros pueblues-uelos i reducciones, en cuyo medio estava Gua-rancalla: dos o tres jornadas avia de distancia del un Convento al otro, i que-dandose el Padre fr. Marcos en Puquiu-ra, pasò a su fundacion el bendito fr. Diego, i en breve tienpo edificò Iglesia, iso abitacion, i dispuso ospital, todo de edi-ficios pobres, que los Indios conaamor i armiento acabaron en

Father Marcos had a harder time in Puquiura, which seems to have been nearer the center of the Inca cult.[45]

Fray Marcos and Fray Diego had many exciting adventures which we cannot follow here. Things came to a crisis over the worship of the devil who gave manifestations at the spring over which was the white rock at the House of the Sun in Chuquipalpa. The two priests in imitation of the prophet Elias, sent for all the Indians, inviting them to gather in Pucyura in the church or the neighboring plaza, and asking all to bring a stick of firewood, in order that they might all march to burn up the Devil who had tormented and afflicted them. A large crowd, (Calancha says "an innumerable multitude"), came together on the day appointed. The Catholic Indians were most anxious to get even with this Devil who had slain their friends and inflicted wounds on themselves. The doubters, or those lukewarm in the Faith, were curious to see the result of the fire, and the Inca priests came also to see the conflict between their god and the Christians'; while, as may readily be imagined, nearly all the rest of the population came to see the excitement.[46]

---

poco tienpo, fue estacando la tierra con altas cruses, i por los montes i adoratorios fue plantando destos arboles sacrosantos, arrancando Idolos. Bramavan los echiseros, pero se-stejavan los demas Indios sus acciones, porque le amavan tiernamente, obliga-dos, no tanto de las virtudes que en el co-nocian, como de los continuos benefi-cios con que los ganava, curavalos, ves-tialos, i enseñavalos. Iuntò cantidad de niños, i isose su maestro de escuela, multiplicandose el numero cada dia, i pidien-do el bautismo muchos de todos sexos i edades; gloriosamente creciò la Cristian-dad en pocos meses, sacando el bendito fray Diego Indios de las grutas de aquellas montañas, atrayendolos con caricias, sobornandolos con ruegos, i conservan-dolos con beneficios....."

[45] Calancha: Coronica Moralizada Barcelona: 1638. p. 802. (The text reads):
"En los aumentos de su Iglesia se ocu-pava el Padre fray Diego querido de todos, i en Puquiura padecia persecuciones el Padre fray Marcos, porque con denue-do Catolico repreendia algunas supersti-ciones en los Indios principales, i accio-nes Gentilecas en el Inga, cargãdo la ma-no en la disolucion de las borracheras en que està la causa de todas las desdichas de los Indios; ellas los despeñan a incee-tos, sodomias i omicidios, i rara es la bor-rachera en que no aya mesela de ritos Gẽtilicos, i muchas veses asiste el Demonio visible, i disimulado en figura de In-dio. O quãto deve de irritar a Dios el des-cuydo, i remision que los dotrinantes tie-nen en no destruir con rigor estas borra-cheras! pues siendo accion publica, no tie-nen los ministros disculpa, como las pue-den tener en los vicios ocultos. . . ."

[46] Calancha: Coronica Moralizada: Barcelona: 1638. p. 807. (The text reads):
"Los dos Religiosos mandaron a imitacion de Elias, juntar a todos los In-dios de aquel pueblo, i a todos los q̃ es-tavan en Puquiura advenedisos, publicã-do a vos de pregonero, que todos se jun-tasen tal dia en la Iglesia i plaça, i cada Indio o India, viejo o niño,

Starting out from Pucyura they soon arrived at the Temple of the Sun, in the village of Chuquipalpa, close to Vitcos. Here, as has been said before, there was a white rock over a spring of water where the devil at various times had shown himself. The Indians worshipped the water, says Calancha, as a divine thing. This devil had the reputation of being the most cruel of all. He often killed or wounded his worshippers with horrible roars. Naturally he was feared by all, and his worshippers came from far to offer him gifts and sacrifices. They even came from the most secluded villages in the mountains. Arriving at the sacred palisade, the monks raised the standard of the cross, recited their orisons, surrounded the rock and the Temple of the Sun, and placed the firewood all about it. Then, having exorcised the locality, and defied the Idol, they called the Devil by all the vile names they could think of to show their lack of respect, and finally commanded him never to return to this place or this vicinity. Then, calling on Christ and the Virgin, they applied fire to the wood, crying: "Now we shall see what a mocker is he who has been doing this harm, and that there is no other God than our God." The poor Devil then fled roaring in a fury, and making the mountains to tremble. They burnt the temple and the rock, and made a great impression on the Indians. Their followers returned rejoicing to Pucyura, and many others went away distraught. This story was told throughout the province, and the cruel Devil never more returned to the rock, nor to this district.[47]

---

trugese un palo de leña, porq̃ avian de ir a quemar al Demonio que los engañava i afligia. Ya Dios les debia de aver asegurado a sus siervos, q̃ mostraria lo que ellos le rogavan, pues con pregon i vando general lo previnieron. Fue inumerable la multitud que concurrio para el dia señalado. Los Catolicos irian deseosos de ver castiga-do al Demonio, i loçanearse de ser Cris-tianos, los que avian recebido muertes en los suyos, i golpes en sus cuerpos irian a la vengança, los tibios i dudosos en la Fè, a ver la resulta del incendio, los echise-ros a ver la pelea de su idolo i de Cristo, muy seguros de apellidar vitoria, i casi todos a ver la novedad, salieron los dos Religiosos, que en cada uno iva un Elias, llevando aquella multitud, para que viese la palestra, i fuesen testigos de la vitoria."

[47] Calancha: Coronica Moralisada. Barcelona: 1638. p. 808. (The text reads): "Mientras llegan, sepamos que este es el Idolo que dejamos dicho, que en el parage de Chuquipalpa junto a Vitcos, estava en la casa i tenplo del Sol, Demonio que dava respues-

Such a performance greatly annoyed the Inca. His mother in particular was highly indignant. As soon as they heard what had happened they went at once to Pucyura. The chiefs were angry enough to slay the friars at once, and tear them into small pieces. The Inca dared not touch Fray Diego Ortiz for his ministrations and his care of the sick had endeared him to the Indians. So he took it out on Fray Marcos, who was not so popular, and had him stoned out of the province, threatening to kill him if he should return.[48]

The Inca Titu Cusi became very fond of Fray Diego, and so did the savage Indians who came from the fever stricken jungles, from three to six hundred miles, bringing tribute to the Inca.[49]

---

tas en una piedra o peña blanca, i varias veses se mostrava visible. La piedra estava sobre un maña-tial de agua, i veneravan el agua como a cosa divina. Era Demonio cruelisimo, pues en dejando de adorarle algunos dias, los matava o eria, asia notables da-ños, i orribles asonbros, i asi era temido de todos, i le venian a ofrecer dadivas i sacrificios de lejas distancias, i de los pueblos mas retirados de las montañas. Llegaron al palenque nuestros Religio-sos, llevando por estandarte una Crus, i asiendo oracion devota, i mandando a todos resasen las oraciones, con denue-do Cristiano, i confiança Catolica, rodearon la piedra i la casa del Sol poniendo leña a todo; i aviendo exorcisado el sitio, i baldonado al Idolo, tratarõ infamemẽ-te al Demonio, mandandole que nunca mas bolviese al sitio, ni a la tierra: llamã-do a Cristo i a la Virgen santisima, pega-ron fuego a la leña, diciẽdo: Aora vereys quan burlador es el que os engañava, i como no ay otro Dios que el q̃ los Cris-tianos confiesan. Salio huyendo el Demonio bramando rabias, i estremeciendo montes: quemaron tenplo i piedra, i re-forçando su Fè los Catolicos, i confesan-do la de Cristo los idolatras, a voses de-cian lo q̃ digerõ los idolatras Iudios, quado el incendio de Elias; solo el Dios que predica Elias, es el verdadero Señor. Bolvio la multitud alegre, i algu-nos confusos. Publicòse el caso entoda la comarca, i nunca mas bolvio a la piedra, ni a la Provincia el Demonio cruel."

[48] Calancha: Coronica Moralisada. Barcelona: 1638. pp. 808-809. (The text reads):

"Luego q̃ supo el Inga i su muger el incendio del Idolo, i el des-tierro de su Dios, i oyendo los lamẽtos q̃ sus echiseros asiá, por ver tan glorio-sos a los Cristianos, i tan baldonado el partido de su idolatria, se vinieron a toda priesa al pueblo de Puquiura; los Capitanes del Inga venian enfurecidos tratando matar a lançadas dos Reli-giosos, pareciedoles que era poco despe-daçarlos. Llegaron al pueblo, i queriendo egecutar su rabia, dispuso Dios lo q̃ mas devio de convenir, o porq̃ algunos Cato-licos de su Cõsejo les mitigaro, o porque el Inga i sus Capitanes temieron. Al fin salio de acuerdo q̃ el P. F. Diego se fuese a su Iglesia de Guarancalla, i q̃ sacasen de-sterrado al P. F. Marcos con pena, i ame-naça de que lo matarian si bolvia mas a la Provincia. Entraron con lanças los Capitanes del Inga, con cantidad de velleguines adonde estavan los siervos de Dios, i sacando al Padre fray Marcos, lo llevaron con afrentas i malos trata-mientos asta cerca de Oyara, leguas asia el Cusco, i de alli le enbiaron desterrado. . . . ."

[49] Calancha: Coronica Moralisada. Barcelona: 1638. p. 809. (The text reads):

"Venian Indios de la tierra dẽtro a nego-cios con el Inga, i otros a traerle los tri-butos: enfermavan muchos por venir de sierras frias a montañas calidas, en parti-cular los Indios Manaries i los Pilcoco-nes, que de ciento i dosientas leguas ve-nian a sus despachos; con estos se singularisava con mayores finesas. . . . ."

One day a Spaniard named Romero entered Vilcabamba looking for gold, and got permission from the Inca to do some prospecting. He was too successful. The Inca feared his reports might encourage hordes of his undesirable countrymen to enter Vilcabamba, so the too lucky prospector was put to death.[50]

It is now time for us to return to Cuzco and take up the threads of the Spanish end of the story.

Eleven years after the accession of Titu Cusi there arrived in Cuzco, in the year 1570, a new viceroy, the famous Francisco de Toledo,[51] described by a recent historian as an "indefatigable worker, but excessively narrow-minded, cruel, and pitiless." One of the first functions which he attended was the baptism, on January 6, 1571, of a little Inca prince, [52] the son of one Carlos Inca, a cousin of the reigning Inca, Titu Cusi Yupanqui. This Carlos Inca was living in the palace of Colcampata, which occupies a sightly position halfway up the Sacsahuaman hill back of Cuzco.

Ocampo says that the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui was also present at this ceremony, was impressed by the splendor of the Catholic ceremonial, and on returning to Vilcabamba requested that someone be sent to teach him the Christian religion. [53]

Ocampo says further that two Augustinian friars, Juan de Vivero and Diego Ortiz, were commissioned to enter the fastnesses of Vilcabamba. With them went several laymen. They reached Vitcos and found that the legitimate Inca, Tupac Amaru, was imprisoned "with the chosen virgins and their matrons in the House of the Sun." The ambassadors endeavored to persuade Titu Cusi Yupanqui, "with loving words and rich presents, to leave that province of Vilcapampa and come to the city of Cuzco to offer obedience to his Majesty, and

[50] See Calancha: Coronica Moralisada: pp. 810-811.

[51] Garcilasso: Chap. XVI. (Rycaut's translation, pp. 1008-9.)

[52] Ocampo, Baltasar de. "Account of the Province of Vilcapampa, and a narrative of the execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru. . ." Trans. by Sir Clements R. Markham. London: 1907. p. 207.

[53] Ocampo: p. 206-210.

to his Excellency in the royal name, as the said Inca had proposed to do through his envoys." Ocampo says he determined to comply, but, owing to a fit of obstinacy, he delayed his departure for some time, putting it off from one day to another.[54]

Ocampo also says that "the Inca, at his own request, had been baptized by the Father Friar Juan de Vivero in the said province of Vilcapampa, receiving the name of Don Felipe Titu Cusi Yupanqui. As a baptized Christian the Fathers said a mass every day. The chapel in which they performed these services was near my house and on my own land in the place called Puquiura, near the metal works of Don Cristoval de Albornoz, formerly Precentor of the cathedral of Cuzco."[55] [56]

Garcilasso,[57] on the other hand, says that the viceroy Toledo had determined to try and get the Inca out of Vilcabamba to live near Cuzco. His version is as follows:

"The intention of the Vice-King in this matter was sincere, and real, and with no other design, (than after the Example of his Predecessor, Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoça) to advance his own Honour and Reputation, by an action so generous and heroick, as to reduce such a Prince to the Service of his Catholick Majesty, and to civilise him as it were, by calling him from the Barbarity of those mountains, where he lived like a Fugitive and a Salvage Person. To bring this Design about, the Vice-King acted according to the former methods, and sent Messengers to him, inviting him to come out of those Mountains and live amongst the Spaniards, since they were become one people with them; which offer, if he was disposed to accept, he assured him, that the King would bestow on him the same Livelyhood and Support that he had formerly given to his Brother."

---

[54] Ocampo, p. 213.

[55] Ocampo, p. 214.

[56] This version has been adopted by Sir Clements Markham. (See: "Incas of Peru," pp. 290-291), but it does not fit in at all with the story of the Augustinian missionaries in Vitcos, as given by Calancha.

[57] Garcilasso: "Royal Commentaries," Chap. XVI, pp. 1008-9.

This version is vouched for by the contemporary account of Friar Gabriel de Oviedo,[58] who says that orders had been received by Toledo from Philip II, instructing him to arrange for the Inca to come forth in peace from the forests of the province of Vilcabamba. This seems more likely.

Friar Gabriel says that on the 20th of July, 1571, the Viceroy sent for him to consult with him about what was the best way to get the Inca to come forth from the mountains of the province of Vilcabamba and live in peace. The Viceroy finally requested Friar Gabriel to undertake this embassy in person. They chose the Licenciate Garci Rios to go with him. They were given various letters and also a bull of dispensation granted by the Pope at the request of Philip II, enabling the son of Titu Cusi to marry his first cousin in accordance with Inca customs. With these documents and some others they left Cuzco on August 20th, and went by way of the Acobamba, [or Occobamba] river, beyond Ollantaytambo. They were unable to cross the river as they had no canoes, and sent Indians as messengers, who were slain. They then went down on the river, apparently to its juncture with the Urubamba, waited there two days in the hopes of finding some means of crossing it; made fires at night to attract attention, but no one came to take them across. They saw no signs of anybody, so they returned to Cuzco, which they reached on the 18th of October.[59]

Garcilasso also says, (p. 1009): [the Inca's] "Kindred, and Subjects who were with him, affrighted him with the story of his Brother; telling him, That the Allowance

---

[58] Sarmientoa de Gamboa, Pedro. "History of the Incas." Translated by Sir Clements R. Markham. London: 1907. p. 401.

[59] This version is vouched for by Father Calancha, see his Coronica Moralisada, p. 831, as follows:

"Deseando la paz enbió el Virrey al Padre Fray Ga-briel de Oviedo (que fue Catedratico en esta Real universidad de Lima) Do-minico, i al Licenciado Garci Rodrigues, y a otras onradas personas con In-dios principales del Cusco; i llegando al rio de Acobanba, le enbiaron enbajada al Inga con ocho Indios, dandole a enten-der a lo que venian; mataron a seys In-dios, huyeron los dos a dar la nueva al Padre Oviedo i a Garci Rodrigues, que luego se bolvieron al Cusco."

given him by the Spaniards was small and inconsiderable, and that the life of his Brother was afterwards very short, caused (as they would insinuate) by Poison, or some treacherous or suspicious manner of dealing; therefore they advised the Inca by no means to move out of his Retirement, being more secure in his banishment, than in the faithless Hands of his Enemies."

It must have been perfectly evident to Titu Cusi that it was far more amusing to be an independent sovereign in Vitcos than a puppet of the Spaniards in Yucay.

Whichever version is adopted, all accounts agree that it was finally decided to send as ambassador a cavalier of Cuzco, named Tilano de Anaya, who was married to an Inca princess, and who had been Majordomo of the Inca in Cuzco. He was ordered to take the route "by the bridge near Ollantaytambo, where there was a way into the province." He had instructions not to wait at the bridge, but to push on and not stop until he had delivered his letters into the hands of the Inca.[60]

In the meantime the Inca Titu Cusi fell ill, apparently as the result of an intemperate jollification. He sent for Fray Diego, but all his skill was unavailing, and the remedies, of which there seem to have been a mixture of Indian and Spanish, proved fatal. At least so it appeared to the Inca's mother and the chiefs. As a result Fray Diego was put to death, and the young Inca Tupac Amaru had his brows decked with the Scarlet Fringe of Sovereignty.[61] All these things happened in and near Vitcos.

When tidings came to Vitcos that people were coming from Cuzco to act as spies, seven captains went out along the road to that city. "One was named 'Puri Paucar.' With him there was a native of the valley of Xauxa,

---

[60] A copy of Toledo's letter to Titucusi, sent by the hand of Tilano de Anaia, and dated 16 Oct. 1571, is given on pp. 266-267 of "(Coleccion de documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias," Madrid: 1867 Vol. 8.)

[61] Calancha: Coronica, p. 812, *et seq.*

a Huanca Indian of a very warlike tribe. I do not remember the names of the other five captains. They guarded the bridge of Chuqui-chaca, over the Vilcamayu river, which is the key to the province of Vilcapampa."[62]

Tilano de Anaya, the messenger from the Viceroy was on his way to Vilcabamba with the Viceroy's letter to the late Inca. Tilano was preparing to spend the night at the bridge of Chuqui-chaca, when he was attacked and killed by the Inca warriors. When this news reached Cuzco a council of war was held and it was decided to despatch a warlike force to punish those who had killed not only the priest, but an ambassador from the Viceroy.

Friar Gabriel says the Viceroy called a council on Palm Sunday, 1572, and it was resolved to make war on the Inca and give a reward to the man who should capture him.

Garcilasso gives a number of other reasons for this expedition. He says:[63] "It was the Opinion of the wise Counsellors of those times, That many Insurrections might be raised in that Empire by this young Heir, being countenanced and assisted by the Incas his Kinsmen, who lived amongst the Spaniards, and by the Caciques his Subjects, and by those very men, who were born of Indian Mothers, though their Fathers were Spaniards; all which would joyn, and rejoice at a change; being willing to better their Fortunes, which were reduced to that mean degree, that most of them wanted even Bread to support the necessities of Humane Life.

"Moreover it was alledged, That by the Imprisonment of the Inca, all that Treasure might be discovered, which appertained to former kings, together with that Chain of Gold, which Huayna Capac commanded to be made for himself to wear in the great and solemn days of their Festival, and especially on that day, when he gave a name to his eldest son Huascar, as hath been formerly related; all which, as was reported, the Indians con-

[62] Ocampo, p. 216.

[63] Rycaut's translation, p. 1009.

cealed. And in regard, that that Chain of Gold with the remaining Treasure belong'd to his Catholick Majesty by right of Conquest, it was Justice and Reason to take such courses as might retrieve those Riches which the Inca concealed, and had conveyed away from the true Proprietor; Besides all which, many other matters were alledged, which might incite the Vice-King to take the Inca Prisoner."[64]

"In the meantime," says Ocampo, "the legitimate Inca, Tupac Amaru, was there in the fortress of Pitcos, which is on a very high mountain, whence the view commanded a great part of the province of Vilcapampa. Here there was an extensive level space, with very sumptuous and majestic buildings, erected with great skill and art, all the lintels of the doors, as well the principal as the ordinary ones, being of marble, elaborately carved."[65]

As Ocampo lived in Pucyura soon afterwards, his description of Vitcos may be regarded as faithful in its details, even though his account of the embassies is incorrect.

There are various contemporary accounts of the expedition.[66] In general they agree that one company was sent by way of Limatambo to Curahuasi to head off the Inca in case he should wish to escape across the Apurimac. This road had frequently been used by the Inca Manco in his marauding expeditions. The other company marched from Cuzco via the valley of Yucay. They came to the Chuqui-chaca bridge. Says Ocampo: "Here they found Tupac Amaru Inca pre-

[64] This accords more closely with the official report: ". . . en la provincia de Vilcabamba estaba rebelado y alsado contra el servicio de V. M. Cusitito Yupanqui Inga y Tupac-Amaru, con tanto escándalo y miedo de los robos y asaltos que hacian los indios de aquella provincia en los que iban á la ciudad del Cusco, como se escribió á V. M. muchas veces, representando los daños que causaba y lo que convenia que aquello se allanase, asi por esto como porque fuera una ladronera á donde se iban á recojer los delincuentes del reino y una cabeza de lobo; . . ." See: "Relaciones de los Virreyes y Audiencias que han Goberando el Perú. . . ." Tomo I. *Memorial y Ordenanzas de D. Francisco de Toledo.* Lima: 1867. (p. 9.)

[65] Ocampo, p. 216.

[66] Most of them are printed in the "Juicio de Límites entre el Perú y Bolivia," Vol. 7. Barcelona: 1906.

pared, having been taken out of the House of the Sun, with his camp formed. Our troops had an encounter with his people, though the river was between them. For with four shots from our small field guns, and the arquebuses of the soldiers, the Peruvians were routed, and were obliged to retreat to their camp. Our men then occupied the bridge, which was a measure of no small importance for the royal force. For the enemy did not remember to burn and destroy the said bridge. God permitted this, because of the great trouble the Spaniards would have had in making one over the very full river. Leaving some of our men to guard it, and to forward supplies to the front, the rest of the force continued the pursuit, the Inca and his people being routed and in flight. The road was narrow in the ascent, with forest on the right, and on the left a ravine of great depth."[67]

"Our troops could not advance in formation of squadrons, but only two by two. The Captain Martin Garcia Oñez de Loyola, who was in the vanguard, was advancing alone like a good and well-armed captain, when an Inca captain, named Hualpa, came out of the forest without being seen by anyone, and tackled our captain with such an embrace that he could not get at his arms, the object being to hurl him down the ravine. He would have been dashed to pieces, and hurled into the river, but an Indian servant of the captain, named Corillo, who is still alive, with property in the valley of Yucay, and who was then with him, drew Loyola's sword from the scabbard and, with much dexterity and animation, killed the Indian Hualpa, who was thus vanquished, and failed in his evil intent. To this day the place where this happened is called "the leap of Loyola." Continuing in pursuit of the enemy, many prisoners, both captains and common people, were taken. Being pressed to say what road the Inca had taken, they replied that he had gone inland towards the valley of Simaponte; and that he was flying to the country of the Mañaries

[67] Ocampo, p. 220.

Indians, a warlike tribe and his friends, where balsas and canoes were posted to save him and enable him to escape."[68]

Loyola's own story has been published in Volume VII of the documents prepared for the Boundary Commission judging the limits between Peru and Bolivia. He says that he found the Inca in the valley of Momori. This we were told was near Rosalina, on the Urubamba, not far from its junction with the Pampaconas. Loyola was neither deterred by the dangers of the jungle, nor the rapids in the river, and constructed five rafts on which he put some of his soldiers, and accompanying them himself, they went down the rapids, escaping death many times by swimming, until they arrived at the said place called Momori, only to find that the Inca, hearing of their intended arrival, had gone further into the woods. Nothing daunted, Loyola followed him up, although they had to go on foot and barefooted, with hardly anything to eat, most of their provisions having been lost in the river. They finally captured the Inca, and brought him back.[69] [70]

Garcilasso's account is as follows: "The Prince Tupac Amaru having received intelligence, that some Forces were entered within his Jurisdiction, he presently fled twenty leagues within the Country down a River below the Mountain. The Spaniards instantly fitted themselves with Boats, and Floats, and therewith followed and pursued after him. The Prince considering that he had not People to make resistance, and that he was not conscious to himself of any Crime, or disturbance he had done or raised, suffered himself to be taken; chusing rather to entrust himself in the hands of the Spaniards, than to perish in those Mountains with Famine, or be drowned in those great Rivers, which fall and empty themselves into the River of Plate. Where-

---

[68] Ocampo, p. 221.

[69] Peru. Juicio de Límites entre el Perú y Bolivia. Vol. VII., pp. 4-5.

[70] See the account in Markham's "Incas of Peru," pp. 294-297; and in—Coleccion de documentos inéditos del archivo de Indias, pp. 278-282, of Vol. 8.

fore he yielded himself into the Power of Captain Martin Loyola, and his Souldiers, in hopes, that when they found him naked, and deprived of all subsistance, they would take Compassion on him, and allow him the same Pension which was given to his Brother Don Diego Sayri Tupac, little suspecting that they would kill him, or do him any harm, since he was guilty of no Crime. The Spaniards in this manner seizing on the Inca, and on all the Indian Men and Women, who were in Company with him, amongst which was his Wife, two Sons, and a Daughter, returned with them in Triumph to Cozco; to which place the Vice-King went, so soon as he was informed of the imprisonment of the poor Prince."[71]

Of his barbarous execution in Cuzco this is not the place to speak.[72] With the entry of Loyola, Vitcos ceased to be the Inca capital.

So much for the chronicles, now for the work of fitting the evidence to some locality that would meet the requirements of historical accuracy.

III.

We arrived in Cuzco early in July, 1911, and while engaged in purchasing mules and making the necessary preparation for our journey into Vilcabamba, made enquiries in all likely quarters as to the possibility of finding any ruins down the Urubamba valley.

It was known to a few people in Cuzco, chiefly residents of the province of Convencion, that there were ruins still undescribed in the valley of the Urubamba. One friend told us that a muleteer had told him of some ruins near the bridge of San Miguel. Knowing the propensity of his countrymen to exaggerate, he placed little confidence in the report, and had passed by the place a score of times without taking the trouble to look into the matter. Another friend, who owned a

[71] Garcilasso: "Royal Commentaries . . . rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut." London: 1688, p. 1010.

[72] For an account of it see: Markham: "Incas of Peru," pp. 293-297.

sugar plantation on the river Vilcabamba itself, said he also had heard vague rumours of ruins. He was quite sure there were some near Pucyura. He had been there, but had never seen any. Finally a talkative old peddler said there were ruins "finer than Choqquequirau" down the valley somewhere. But as he had never been to Choqquequirau, and no one placed any confidence in his word anyhow, we could only hope there was some cause for his enthusiasm. Finally, there was the story in Wiener's "Pérou et Bolivie" that when he was in Ollantaytambo in 1875, or thereabouts, he was told that there were fine ruins down the Urubamba valley at "Huaina-Picchu or Matcho-Picchu." [73] [74] Wiener decided to go down the valley and look for them, but, owing to one reason or another, he failed to find them. Should we be any more successful?

One person was sure we would—Señor Romero, whose thorough acquaintance with the history of the conquest made him confident that we should find not one but several groups of ruins hitherto unknown to Peruvian archæologists.

To most of our friends in Cuzco, however, the idea that there could be anything finer than Choqquequirau seemed absurd. They regarded that "cradle of gold" as "the most remarkable archæological discovery of recent times," and not only assured us there was nothing half so good, but themselves took it absolutely for granted that I was secretly planning to return thither to dig for buried treasure. Denials were of no avail. To a people whose ancestors made fortunes out of mines and "lucky strikes," and who have themselves been brought up on stories of enormous wealth still remaining to be discovered by some fortunate excavator, the question of treasure is an ever present source of conversation. Even the prefect of Cuzco was quite unable to conceive

---

[73] Wiener, Charles. "Pérou et Bolivie." Paris, 1880. p. 345.

[74] Huayna Pichu is said to be referred to in: "El brilliante porvenir del Cusco," by a fray Julian Bovo de Rivello,—a rare pamphlet published in Cusco in 1848, which I have been unable to find in this country.

of our doing anything for the love of discovery. He was convinced that I was about to find great riches at Choqquequirau, or else that I was in receipt of a very large salary!

We found the ancient province of Vilcabamba a most difficult place to explore. The present entrance is over a newly built Government road, which leads through the Grand Canyon of the Urubamba, between Torontoy and Huadquiña. In places the mighty precipices of solid granite rise five thousand feet sheer from the rapids to the clouds, and then continue brokenly upward to glaciers and snow-capped peaks. In the most inaccessible part of this wonderful canyon I found the ruins of Macchu Pichu, a most remarkable city. built on a precipitous ridge, thousands of feet above the river. When I first saw the ruins of Macchu Pichu, which is on a very high mountain commanding a magnificent view, and where there is a level space with very sumptuous and majestic buildings erected with great skill, and made of white granite, I thought that I must have come across Pitcos, and that "Pitcos" was as near *Pichu* as Ocampo succeeded in getting. It will be remembered that Ocampo said: "The said Inca Tupac Amaru was there in the fortress of Pitcos, which is on a very high mountain, whence the view commanded a great part of the province of Vilcapampa. Here there was an extensive level space, with very sumptuous and majestic buildings, erected with great skill and art, all the lintels of the doors, as well the principal as the ordinary ones, being of marble, elaborately carved."[75]

I was inclined to think that Pichu might have been the older form of Pitcos or Vitcos, particularly as the white granite of which the temples and palaces are constructed could so easily pass for marble. The only difficulty about fitting this description to Macchu Pichu is that the buildings themselves, and not only the lintels of the doors, are of white granite. (There is no marble in the region.) Furthermore the location of Macchu

[75] Ocampo, p. 216.

Pichu is not favorable to the geographical position of the places mentioned in the chronicles as being near Vitcos. And, so far as we were able to discover, there was no "white rock over a spring of water" near by.

On August 6th we passed the bridge called Choquechaca or Chuquichaca at the junction of the Urubamba and Vilcabamba rivers, and entered the present Vilcabamba valley.

It is not likely that there was a road in those days from the valley of Yucay to the Vilcabamba valley, except by way of the valley of Lucumayo. The Chuquichaca bridge which crosses the Urubamba river just below the junction of the Lucumayo valley with the Urubamba is, as Ocampo says, the key to the Vilcabamba valley. Had the Incas destroyed that bridge, it would have been almost impossible for the Spaniards to have got across the Urubamba river and into the Vilcabamba valley. After crossing the bridge the road to-day follows the course of the river. It has only recently been built by sugar planters to enable their loaded mules to travel with greater ease. Much of the road has been carved out of the face of a solid rock precipice. In fact, some of it has actually had to be tunnelled. The old road is correctly described as having a forest on the right, and on the left a ravine of great depth.

We missed the best road to Paltaybamba, taking a trail that is much older. It was used until recently in order to avoid the precipices and rapids of the middle Vilcabamba. Our mules were quite tired with their long journey, and the hard climb up this hill, so that we did not reach Paltaybamba until half past six. The Paltaybamba plantation is not as extensive or as well run as the better ones in the Santa Ana valley, but compares favorably with the smaller ones. Visitors are rare here, and we were most hospitably received. The manager of the plantation gave us a boy to guide us to the next house, with orders that the man at that house should guide us to the next house, and so on up the valley. These people, being all tenants of the plantation, are

obliged to carry out such orders, sometimes at considerable inconvenience to themselves.

The valley of Vilcabamba above Paltaybamba is very picturesque: high mountains on either side, covered with tropical jungle; the light green of sugar-cane fields in the bottom of the valley, wherever there are level spots worth while cultivating; occasional huts of tenants; a roaring torrent, and a very winding road.

We passed some ruins two leagues above Paltaybamba, near Huaran or Huarurani. We are told that there is a large Inca city near the cane fields. It is called Huayara. This is undoubtedly the place described in Ocampo, called *Hoyara*, and the site of the first Spanish settlement in this region, later abandoned for the present site of the village of Vilcabamba.

Ocampo's story is as follows: "The Inca and the other Indians were collected and brought back to the valley of Hoyàra. Here the Indians were settled in a large village, and a city of Spaniards was founded. It was called San Francisco of the Victory of Vilcapampa for two sacred and honest reasons. The first was because the victory was on the 4th of October, 1571, the day of San Francisco, the second being the name of the Viceroy to whom the victory was due. Great festivities were held in the city of Cusco when the news of the victory arrived.

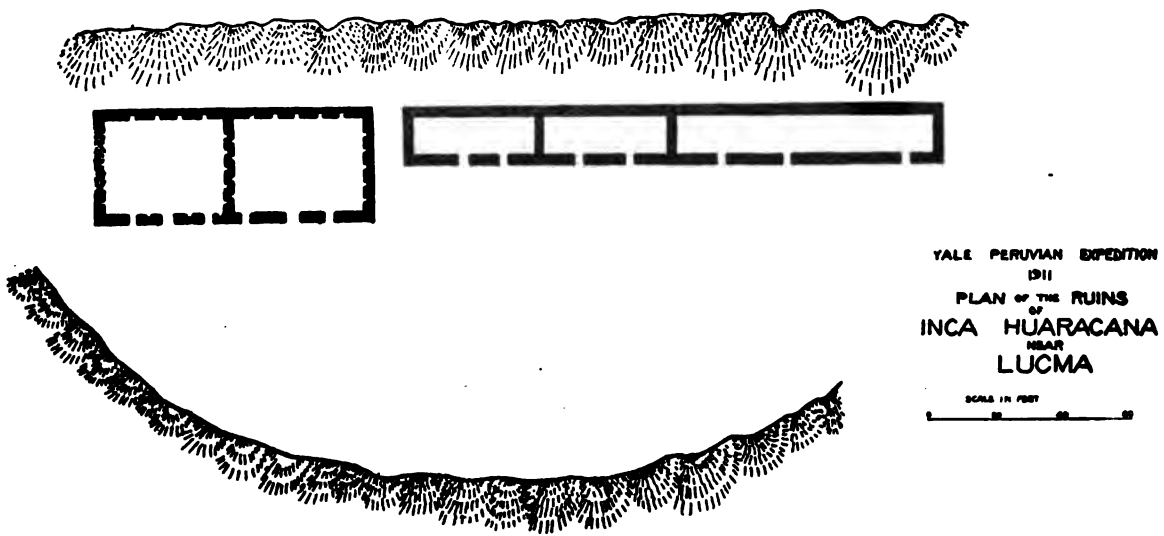
This city was founded on an extensive plain near a river, with an admirable climate. From the river channels of water were taken for the service of the city, the water being very good."[76]

We also heard of Ñusta España, said to be a city and fortress of the Incas above Rosaspata, and *near* Pucyura. It contains a big stone, and is opposite a place called Huancacalle. These things were told us by various Indians who were called up and interviewed by Evaristo Mogrovejo, the Lieutenant-Governor of Lucma. He was very keen to find ruins, as we offered him a reward of fifty cents gold for every ruin found, and double that amount if very fine ruins.

[76] Ocampo, pp. 221-222.

Lucma has about twenty thatched-roof huts, and stores well supplied with the ordinary Indian necessities, including cotton cloth, sugar, canned goods, candles, etc. There is also a small tavern, where drinks are sold. A picturesque belfry and a small old church, somewhat out of repair, crown a small hill back of the town. There is little level land in the valley here, but gentle slopes permit a considerable amount of agriculture. Corn and alfalfa seem to be the principal crops. The hills rise several thousand feet above the valley on each side. In places they are covered with what looks like primeval forest jungle. It occurs chiefly above the cloud line. In some places recent clearings show evidence of enterprise on the part of the present inhabitants. We had no difficulty in getting a mestizo here to pasture our animals.

The next day Mogrovejo, Sergeant Carrasco, and I went up a ravine on top of the ridge, which here divides the upper Vilcabamba from the lower reaches of the river. After an hour's climb from the village of Lucma, we reach a sightly natural terrace, on which are located the ruins of Incahuaracana. They are of poor quality, resembling in many respects the ruins at Choqquequirau. The walls are made of unhewn stones, laid in clay. There are five houses in a row. The principal ones being lined with niches. The houses have two or three doors on the front side, no doors in the rear, and no windows. The walls have been partly pulled down by hand, and the doorways filled up with loose stones, apparently in order to keep cattle from straying. The ruins are much overgrown. The view on both sides is very charming. There is a nice little plaza on the terrace in front of the ruins. As at Choqquequirau the whole thing is on a ridge, with an extensive view on both sides. The walls are in bad condition, and it was difficult to measure them. Showers and clouds made photography also difficult. The niches are in general about three feet high, and about one and a half feet wide, but very much ruined, only a few of them remain-


YALE PERUVIAN EXPEDITION
1911
PLAN OF THE RUINS
OF
INCA HUARACANA
NEAR
LUCMA
SCALE IN FEET

PLAN 2

ing as they were originally. The interior dimensions of the buildings are as follows: 36 x 27½ feet; 34½ x 28.2 feet; 36 x 11; and 76 x 11. The last two buildings had no niches, and were probably occupied by the servants and attendants of the Incas, or whoever lived in the first two structures, which are more carefully built and fitted up with niches.

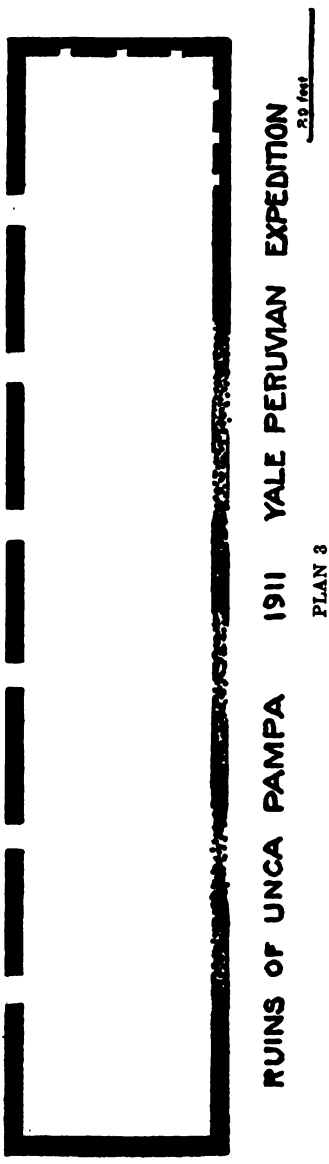
The general effect gives one the impression that Incahauracana was a country house belonging to one of the nobility, some prince or chieftain who wished to overlook his estates.

We left Lucma the next day and immediately recrossed the Vilcabamba river at a ford, and soon had a good view up the valley to the hill on which are the ruins of Rosaspata. An hour later we reached Puquiura, and passed through the village, which has a poor church and a belfry in a tree. Just beyond is the village of Huancacalle, near Tincochaca. Here we left our goods and chattels in the care of an Indian, a friend of the Lieutenant-Governor's, crossed the river Vilcabamba on a foot-bridge, and at once came upon some interesting ruins. They were clearly not Incaic, and seemed to be the remains of a quartz stamping-mill. In Ocampo's account of Vilcabamba there is a statement that he lived in Puquiura, near the metal works of a wealthy caballero who had property in Cuzco. Ocampo says also that the illegitimate Inca, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, was baptized in a chapel near Ocampo's house and on his own land in Puquiura, near the metal works of Don Cristoval de Albornoz.[77]

It is possible that there are metal works nearer the small church at Puquiura than these ruins at Tincochaca but it is not likely. I am told that there is a gold mine, in the hills not far away. There is abundant evidence in these ruins to show that quartz crushing was carried on on a considerable scale. There are a number of ruins of houses, a large Spanish mill-stone, five feet in diameter and one foot three inches thick, and a charac-

[77] Ocampo, p. 214.

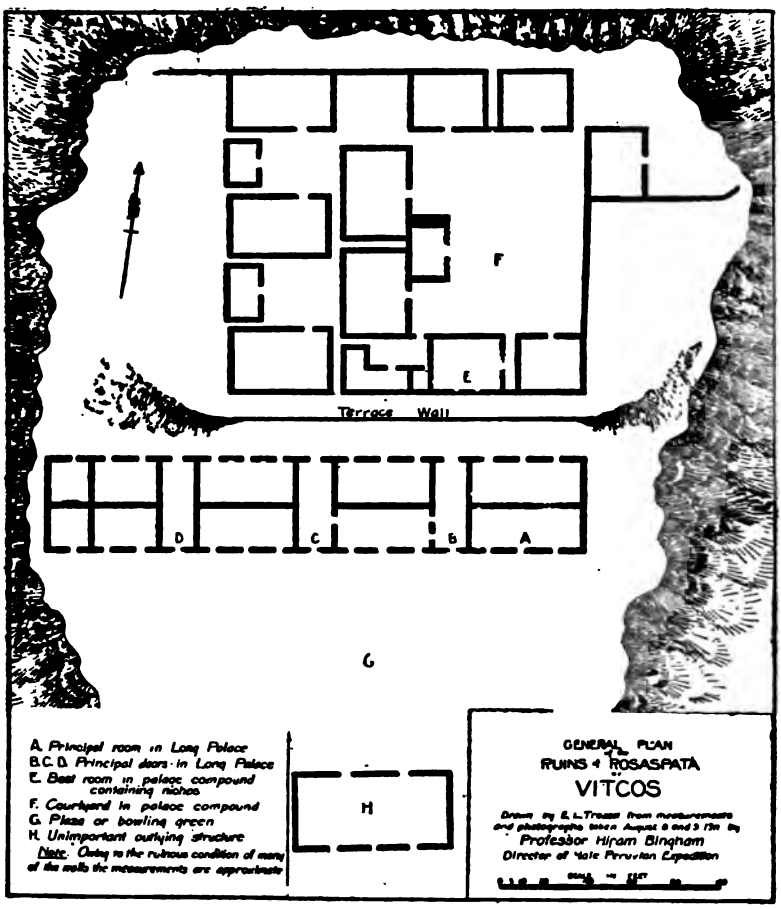
teristic Indian mortar and pestle, large enough to require the services of four men to work it. The pestle has been hollowed out of a large boulder that projects only a few inches above the surface of the ground, and the mortar is now lying on its side near the pestle. We turned it over with some difficulty, and frightened two or three large frogs that were taking refuge beneath it. The square hole in the middle of the millstone measured 8.1 inches by 8.1 . The mortar is nearly four feet in diameter.



PLAN 3

Leaving this interesting ruin of a Spanish quartz mill, I crossed the Tincochaca river on a foot-bridge, climbed the hill called Rosaspata, and was directed by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Indian guide to an old and much destroyed ruin in the saddle of the hill before reaching the principal ruins of Rosaspata, and south of them. It is at a place called Uncapampa. The ruin consists of the walls of a single house, 166.5 feet long, by 33 feet in width. There are six doorways in front and none on the ends or in the rear walls. The ruins resembled those seen yesterday at Incahuaracana, and, like those, the walls are now used as part of a pasture

fence. They are built of rough stones laid in clay. They had some niches, although almost all have disappeared. There are no projecting cylindrical blocks, and the general finish is extremely rough. The niches



PLAN 4

vary from 2.3 feet in height to 2.5, and are about 1.9 feet in width. They occur at irregular distances, roughly, 4½ feet apart. The walls appear to have been about 10 feet in height. In fact, one corner is still standing at that height. There is a pleasant view from

the flat open space in front of the ruins over the valley of the Andenes, called the Quebrada Andene, or Ande.

Leaving the ruin of Uncapampa with my Indian helpers I climbed back on to the ridge, found a path along its west side, and came to the ruins of Rosaspata. Passing some ruins very much overgrown and of a primitive character, I found myself on a pleasant open plaza, (see Plan 4, G,) bounded on its north side by the ruins of a large palace.

The view from the plaza is a particularly extensive one on all sides. To the north and south are snow-capped mountains, and to the east and west deep beautiful valleys. The long palace, of which we made a plan with careful measurements, is 245 feet long and 43 feet wide. (See Plan 4.) There are 15 doors in front, and 15 doors behind, but none in the ends. There are no windows. It is divided by halls into three divisions. The front entrance to each hall is a particularly well made door, containing a reëntrant angle. (B, C, and D on Plan 4.) These three principal doors and the other lesser doors are all of white granite, rather carefully squared and finished. The lintels of the doors are solid blocks of white granite, from 6 to 8 feet in length. Most of them have been destroyed, but enough remain to give a good idea of its former grandeur. The walls between the doors are not so carefully made, and the stones have not been squared. Only a few niches remain, so that it is impossible to say whether there were niches in the entire building. (See two in A.) There are also a few cylindrical projecting stones, as at Choqquequirau. What niches there are have been carefully made. Altogether it is a suitable building for the residence of a king. A very small portion of wall stands as it did originally. Most of the rear doors have been filled up with stones taken from the ruins, in order to make a continuous wall. New walls have also been built to divide the hilltop into pastures. There is considerable grass here, and we saw a number of cattle. There is some evidence of a considerable amount of digging

AN ENTRANCE DOORWAY OF THE LONG PALACE (ROSASPATA)

having taken place near the walls and of the wanton destruction of many in efforts at treasure hunting. The fine doors were much better than any we saw anywhere, except at Macchu Pichu.

Back of the large palace and a few feet above it on the end of the knoll which ends this part of the ridge of Rosaspata is what might fairly be called a palace-compound, consisting of thirteen or fourteen houses arranged so as to form a rectangle, with large and small courts. The outside dimensions of the palace compound are about 161 feet by 146, but it is not perfectly square. The buildings themselves vary from 16 x 22 to 30 x 46.8 feet. A couple of terraces separate the long palace from the palace compound. (See I, Plan 4.) As will be seen from the accompanying plan the architects showed a considerable sense of symmetry. In this group of buildings there is no stone work as fine as that in the long palace. Like it, the walls have been pulled down and very much destroyed. It was impossible to get exact dimensions, and in our measurements we had to approximate them as well as we could from the general direction of the walls. In only one of these buildings could we be sure that there had been any niches. (E on Plan 4.) On the north side of the larger courtyard there is a niche in a wall which may have been a kind of shrine.

The hill falls very rapidly on all sides, and it would have been extremely easy for a small force to have defended the hilltop.

On the opposite side of the plaza, south of the long palace, is a single structure containing three doors on the south side, and *possibly* two on the north side. (H, Plan 4.) The building is 78.5 feet long, and 35 feet wide. It has no niches. There is no evidence of any very careful workmanship. The whole building is in a very ruinous state.

The next day we came down from the hill on the east side to the valley of Andene or Ande, and soon reached a large white granite boulder, which had a carved seat

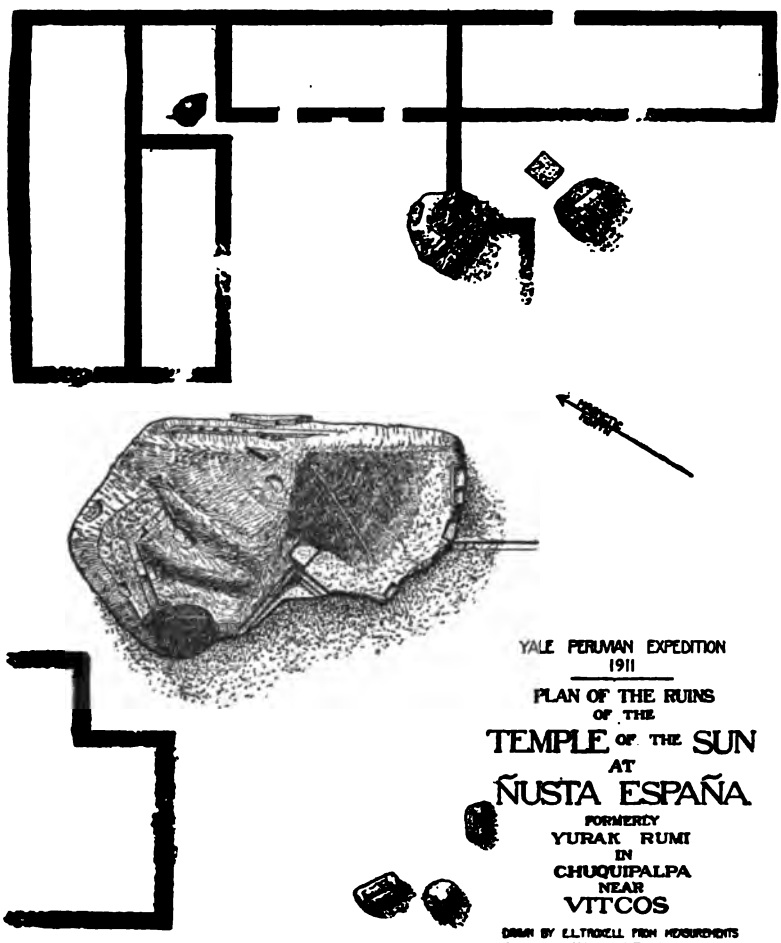
on its north side. It was flattened on top, and on its west side covered a cave, in which were several niches. One of the niches in the cave under the stone is five feet high and 2.1 in width. This had in the back of it a smaller niche 1.6 feet in height, and 1.2 feet in width. The cave was walled on the side away from the rock, and in this wall, below the level of the ground, is another niche. The Indians said there was a spring nearby, and for a few moments I got very much excited, thinking this might be Yurak Rumi, but the spring turned out to be nothing but a small irrigating ditch. It seems to me possible that there may have been a priest's house here in connection with this possibly sacred boulder, and the priest lived in this cave and set up his idols in the niches nearby.[78]

Leaving this boulder and coming up the river, we came to a large number of very handsomely built terraces, and a number of carved boulders, including one that had a large *intihuatana* stone on it, and another that looked something like a saddle.

We had been told that the most interesting place near here was Ñusta España, and that there we would find a great white rock over a spring of water. We arrived at this place at 4 o'clock, and were at once impressed by the truth of what we had heard, and convinced that this was indeed the sacred spot, the center of idolatry in the latter part of the Inca rule, according to Father Calancha. The rock was so much overgrown and surrounded with jungle, especially on two sides, that we made arrangements with the Lieutenant-Governor to have a force of Indians come here the next day and clear the rock so we could take photographs and make measurements of it.

I spent nearly all day at Ñusta España with five Indians, the Lieutenant-Governor, and a soldier. I put in most of my time taking photographs with the utmost

[78] The boulder is 31 feet in length and twenty-six feet in width. The flat space on top is about five feet square. The seat on the north side is 14½ feet long. A round nubbin, projecting in the middle of the back of the seat, divides it into nearly equal halves.


YALE PERUVIAN EXPEDITION
1911
PLAN OF THE RUINS
OF THE
TEMPLE OF THE SUN
AT
ÑUSTA ESPAÑA
FORMERLY
YURAK RUMI
IN
CHUQUIPALPA
NEAR
VITCOS
DRAWN BY E.L.TROXELL FROM MEASUREMENTS
AND PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN AUGUST 10 1911
BY
PROFESSOR HIRAM BINGHAM
SCALE IN FEET

PLAN 5

possible care, and, following the sun around all day, was able to photograph the rock from all sides. Chalk was used to bring out some of the angles on the carved seats. It is difficult to give a vivid impression of this wonderful place.

Ñusta España, or as it was called in early Spanish colonial times, Yurak Rumi, is a white granite boulder, 52 feet in length, 30 feet in width, and 25 feet high, above the present level of the water and swamp that surround it on the east and south sides. (See Plan 5.)

On the south side of the monolith four or five small seats have been cut in the rock, and several large seats. Viewed from this side the rock looks not unlike a miniature mountain. This was probably its natural shape, although nature has been helped to a certain extent. Great care was exercised in cutting out the seats, and the edges are very nearly square and almost straight. In several places on the rock square projections have been left in bold relief, projecting from four to eight inches. The east side of the rock projects over the spring. A stone platform comes down to the water's edge. Near the water steps have been carved. Two seats have been carved out of the rock immediately above the spring. On the north side the rock has evidently been flattened artificially and carved into a rough relief. There are ten projecting square stones, like those usually called *intihuatana* stones. Seven of them in a line have been carved out of the face of the rock. The *intihuatana* stones are about 8 inches square. No two of them are exactly alike. It must have required great labor to carve these out of the flat face of the rock twelve feet above the water. If the projecting stones were intended to cause a shadow, it is significant that they were placed on the north side of the rock, where they would always be exposed to the sun. On the west side there are more seats and large steps. On top of the rock there is a flattened place, which might have been used for sacrifices. From it runs what looks like a little crack[79] in the boulder which has been artificially en-

[79] Local tradition says this mark was made by a little princess.

MONOLITH AT ÑUSTA ESPAÑA —NORTH SIDE

larged. It is possible that this was intended to drain the blood of the victim killed on top of the rock. This shows in several of the photographs, as rain-water flowing down this crack has kept moss from gathering there as it has gathered over most of the monolith.

Nearly all the large boulders in the vicinity have had seats carved out of them, and there are a number of stone platforms, at present partly covered with swampy ground. In the wall of the temple exactly opposite the north face of the rock is a nicely made niche, and an unusually large stone, finished with a nicely flattened surface.

The surroundings are impressive. Densely wooded hills rise on both sides. It is a secluded spot, well calculated to impress the imagination of the worshippers. There seems to be no doubt that this was a sacred place. Furthermore, as I have said, about one fourth of the boulder overhangs a spring of clear water. Surrounding this are the ruins of houses, probably the House of the Sun, once occupied by the priests who officiated at the ceremonies described by Father Calancha in his Chronicle. The important thing to us in this connection is that he said: "*Joined to Vitcos is a village which is called Chucipalpa, and a House of the Sun, and in it a white stone on top of a spring of water, where the Devil appears in visible form and was adored by these idolators, this being the principal mochadero of these mountains.*" The locality where we found the monolith is called Ñusta España, or Yurac Rumi, and is also known as Chuquepalta. There is a quebrada two days' journey from here, near Urumbaye, that is called Manangua Nunca, and it is there they say that the martyr Diego Ortiz was killed.

Finally, as regards the present town of Vilcabamba: Apparently the first settlement was abandoned after the discovery of some silver mines and the municipality moved to a place called Villa-rica de Argeta, "which was at the place called Onccoy, where the Spaniards who first discovered this land found the flocks and herds."[80]

[80] Ocampo. p. 222.

In the negotiations for permission to change the site of the town Ocampo was the chief agent who went to Cuzco and treated with the Viceroy.

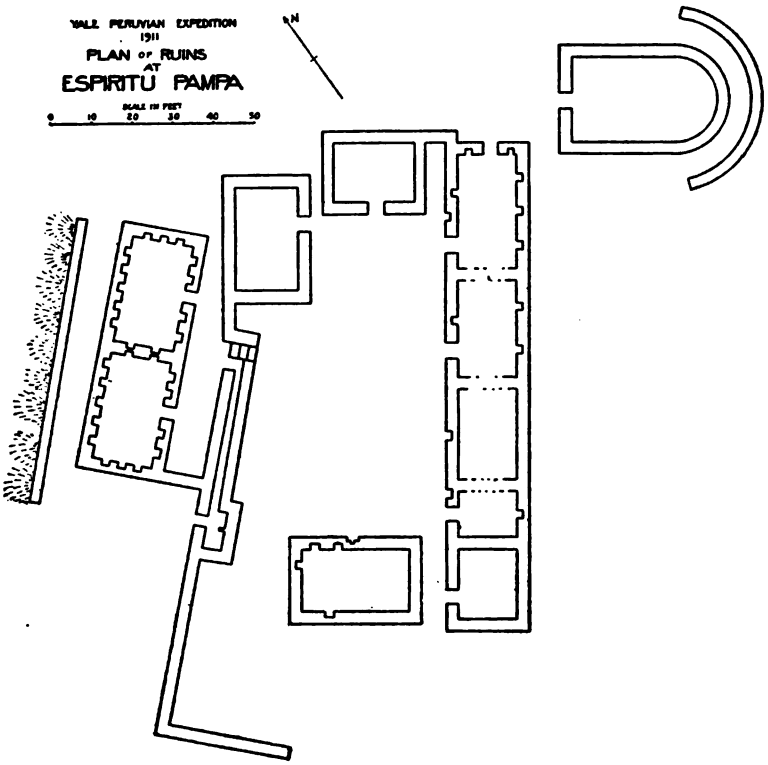
"The change of site appeared convenient for the service of God our Lord and of his Majesty, and for the increase of his royal fifths, as well as beneficial to the inhabitants of the said city. Having examined the capitulations and reasons, the said Don Luis de Velasco granted the licence to move the city to where it is now founded, ordering that it should have the title and name of the city of San Francisco of the Victory of Vilcapampa, which was its first name. By this change of site I, the said Baltasar de Ocampo, performed a great service to God our Lord and his Majesty. Through my care, industry, and solicitude, a very good church was built, with its principal chapel and great doors.' [81]

The present village of Vilcabamba, we were told by several of the oldest inhabitants, has for its proper title San Francisco de la Victoria. This enables us to be fairly certain that "the place called Onccoy" is this same basin of Vilcabamba, where there are excellent pasture lands to-day. It is in a cold, bleak region. The altitude is over 10,000 feet. The valley is broad, but too cold for agriculture, consequently it is given up almost entirely to pasture lands. Horses, cattle, and sheep we saw in abundance, but no llamas. We were given a cordial welcome by the Governor, Manuel Condore. He says that this place was formerly San Francisco de la Victoria. His principal servant has a strikingly marked Inca profile, the hawksbeak nose being very prominent. The village of Vilcabamba contains about forty houses, most of them well built of stones and adobe, with roofs thatched with grass. The church which Ocampo took pains to build is still standing. The walls are heavy and massive, well-buttressed, and show considerable "industry and solicitude." Unfortunately the interior has not been well taken care of.

---

[81] Ocampo, pp. 222-223.

The young Inca, Tupac Amaru, fled from Vitcos, down "the valley of Simaponte." (See above, p. 38.) We know also that the pursuers held a council of war at Banbaconas.[82] There is no valley in this vicinity that is now called Simaponte, so far as we could discover, but the Mañaries Indians are known to have lived on



PLAN 6

the banks of the lower Urubamba, between that river and the Apurimac. In order to reach the country of the Mañaries Indians, the easiest way would have been to go down the Vilcabamba valley and so down the Urubamba, but this would have been to fly in the face

[82] See: Juicio de Límites entre el Perú y Bolivia: Vol. VII. *Vilcabamba.* pp. 303-304.

of the Spaniards who were coming up by that road. The other way would naturally be down the Pampaconas valley. We followed a foot trail which leads from the present Vilcabamba basin down the Pampaconas valley to a place called Conservidayo, or Espiritu Pampa, or Vilcapampa, near which we found ruins of a number of well built houses of characteristic Inca architecture. The presence of the customary types of Inca pottery and the characteristics of the architecture which resembles in many respects the buildings of Choqquequirau, led me to believe that the Incas had a settlement here, and that there must have been a well travelled foot path from the Vilcabamba valley, certainly down as far as Espiritu Pampa. From here to the country of the Mañaries Indians and to canoe navigation on the Urubamba could not have been more than a two days' journey. At present it would take longer, because the trails have been allowed to become entirely overgrown.

It is my hope on the next expedition to trace the entire course of Loyola's expedition. At present we must rest content with what we have learned about Vitcos.

IV.

In conclusion I should like to sum up the evidence that Rosaspata is Vitcos, and that Ñusta España is the Temple of the Sun:

We have, (1) the statement in Calancha that near Vitcos was a temple of the Sun in which was a white rock over a spring of water;

(2) The description of Vitcos in Ocampo as a place on top of a high mountain, from which a large part of Vilcabamba could be seen;

(3) Ocampo's description of the architecture of the palace at Vitcos, the special fact being mentioned that the doors, both ordinary and principal, were of white marble, beautifully carved.

All three fit the Rosaspata locality. Nearby are the ruins of an ancient building, in which is a large white

rock over a spring of water; the Rosaspata ruins are on top of a conspicuously high hill or mountain, from which the view is fine in all directions, and extends to snow-capped peaks both north and south; the ruins of Rosaspata, unlike those of Macchu Pichu, are noticeable because there are two kinds of doors, ordinary and principal ones, and the doors are carefully carved out of white granite, whereas the doors at Macchu Pichu are not any finer than all the rest of the structure, and would not have attracted particular attention.

In regard to the Temple of the Sun, evidence may be offered as follows:

We find (1) the name Chuquipalpa, or Chuquipalta, is still applied to the vicinity of Ñusta España;

(2) The name Puquiura is still applied to a village where there is a rather large ancient church within easy walking distance of Ñusta España;

(3) Near Puquiura are the remains of a gold quartz crushing plant;

(4) And, most important of all, Ñusta España contains the ruins of edifices clearly Inca in character, and surrounding a large white rock actually over a spring of water, an unusual occurrence. Furthermore, this rock bears in its carvings marks which indicate that at one time in the remote past it was undoubtedly an object of veneration.

This evidence confirms me in the belief that at Ñusta España was the shrine called Yurak Rumi, the principal mochadero of the Indians in Vilcabamba.

Finally, a word of caution. Attention should be called to the fact that we were not able to exhaust all the possibilities, as we have not yet examined every part of the Vilcabamba region, and, until this is done, can not speak positively about the identification of Vitcos, even though it seems extremely probable that Rosaspata is that place. The things that have caused me most to doubt my own conclusions are (1) the fact that I could find no one in the vicinity who had ever heard the name of Vitcos; and (2) that Pichu is much more nearly

like Pitcos than any other place name in the region. I hope on the next expedition to exhaust all the possibilities in the region about Macchu Pichu, and see whether it is possible to work out a different interpretation of the chronicles than the one herewith presented.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acosta, José de. The natural and moral history of the Indies, by Father Joseph de Acosta; reprinted from the English translated edition of Edward Grimston, 1604, and ed., with notes and an introduction, by C. R. Markham. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1880. 2 v. fold. map. 8°.

Alcedo [y Bexarano], Antonio de. The geographical and historical dictionary of America and the West Indies. Containing an entire translation of the Spanish work of Col. Don Antonio de Alcedo . . . with large additions and compilations from modern voyages and travels, and from original and authentic information. Ed. by G. A. Thompson, Esq. London: 1812–1815. 5 v. Tables. 28 x 23 cm.

Bingham, Hiram. The ruins of Choqquequirau. (In *American Anthropologist*, (n. s.) Vol. XII, No. 4. Oct., Dec., 1910. pp. 505–525.)

——— ——— Across South America. Bos. & N. Y.: 1911. 405 pp.8°.

Brehm, Reinhold Bernhard. Das Inka-Reich. Beiträge zur staats— und Sittenge-schichte des Kaiserthums Tahuantinsuyu . . . Jena: 1885. 8°.

Calancha, Antonio de la. Coronica moralizada del Orden de San Augustin en el Peru, con sucesos egenplares en esta Monarquia . . . Barcelona: 1638. Tomo I. Folio. (No more published.)

Cieza de Leon, Pedro de. Guerras civiles del Perú. 1. Guerra de las Salínas. (*In* Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España. Tom. 68, pp. 1–451. Madrid: 1877. 8°.)

The travels of Pedro Cieza de Leon, A. D. 1532–50. Contained in the first part of his Chronicle of Peru. Tr. and ed. with notes and an introd. by Clements R. Markham. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1864. Map. 8 (Hakluyt Society Publications.)

De virreyes y gobernadores del Perú. *Virrey D. Francisco de Toledo.* (*In* Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Españolas de América y Oceania, sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias. Tom. 8. pp. 212–293. Madrid: 1867.)

Enriquez de Guzman, Alonzo. The life and acts of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman, a knight of Seville, of the Order of Santiago, A. D. 1518–1543. Trans. from an original and inedited Manuscript in the

National Library at Madrid; with notes and an introd. by Clements R. Markham. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1862. 8°.

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, EL INCA. First part of the royal commentaries of the Yncas, by the Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega. Tr. and ed. with notes and an introduction by Clements R. Markham. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1869–1871. 2 v. Frontis. (Plan). 8°.

Histoire des gverres civiles des Espanols dans les Indes . . . mise en françois par I. Bavdoin. Paris: 1658. 2 v. in 1. 25 cm.

Primera parte de los commentarios reales que tratan, de el origen de los Incas, reies, que fueron del Perú, de su idolatria, leies, y govierno, en paz, y en guerra; de sus vidas, y conquistas y de todo lo que fue aquel imperio, y su republica, antes que los Españoles pasaran á él. Escrita por el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Natural del Cozco . . . Segunda impresion, enmendada: y añadida la vida de Inti Cusi Titu Iupanqui, penultimo Inca . . . Madrid: 1723. folio.

And, as part 2, Historia general del Perù . . . Madrid: 1722. fol.

The Royal commentaries of Peru, in two parts . . . rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut. London: 1688. Front. por. pl. Folio.

HELPS, SIR ARTHUR. The Spanish Conquest in America, and its relations to the history of slavery and to the government of colonies. Lond. & N. Y.: 1900–1904. 4 v. 8°.

HOLGUIN, DIEGO GONZALEZ DE. Arte y diccionario Qquechua—Español. Cor. y aumentado por los RR. PP. Redentoristas al que en 1608 publicó el Rvdo. P. Diego Gonsáles de Holguín, en esta ciudad de Los Reyes. Lima: 1901. 139 pp. 8°.

JUICIO DE LÍMITES ENTRE EL PERÚ Y BOLIVIA. (See under Peru. Juicio, etc.)

LAVANDAIS, E. DE (pseud.) Voyage dans les Republiques de l'Amérique du Sud: Les Antis.—Les Ruins de Choquiquirao.—Le Bas Péru.—Lima. (In *Révue des Deux Mondes*, Tome II. 1851.)

Lorente, Sebastian. Historia de la conquista del Peru. Lima 1861. 8°.

Historia del Peru bajo la dinastía Austriaca. 1542–1598. Lima: 1863. 8°.

MARKHAM, SIR CLEMENTS R. The Incas of Peru. N. Y.: 1910. Ill. Map. 8°.

Narratives of the rites and laws of the Yncas. Tr, from the original Spanish manuscripts and ed. with notes and introduction by Clements R. Markham. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1883. 8°.

MENDIBURU, MANUEL DE. Diccionario-biografico del Peru. Lima: 1874–1890. 8 v. 8°.

MOSES, BERNARD. Establishment of Spanish rule in America; an introduction to the history and politics of Spanish America. N. Y. & Lond.: 1898. 8°.

Ocampo, Capt. Baltasar de. Account of the Province of Vilcapampa, and a narrative of the execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru. (Written in 1610.) Trans. from a manuscript in the British Museum by Sir Clements Markham. (*In* Sarmiento de Gamboa: "History of the Incas," tr. and ed. by Sir Clements R. Markham. Cambridge: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1907. pp. 202–247.) Map. 8°.

Oviedo, Friar Gabriel de. A narrative of the Vice-regal embassy to Vilcabamba, 1571, and of the execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru, Dec. 1571. By Friar Gabriel de Ovideo, of Cuzco, 1573. Tr. and ed. by Sir Clements R. Markham. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1908. 15 pp. 8°.

(*Note:* This is published as a supplement to: Sarmiento de Gamboa: "History of the Incas," tr. and ed. by Sir Clements R. Markham. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1907, and is paged consecutively with this work, pp. 397–412.)

Paz Soldan, Mariano Felipe. Diccionario geográfico estadístico del Perú. Lima: 1877. Fol.

Paz Soldan Mateo. Geografia del Peru, obra postuma. Cor. y aumentada por . . . Mariano Felipe Paz Soldan . . . Paris: 1862–3. 2 v. 4°.

(*Note:* Vol. 2 has title: "Compendio de geográfia matemática, fisica, y politica. Obra postuma." Paris: 1863.)

Peru. Juicio de Límites entre el Peru y Bolivia. Vol. VII: *Vilcabamba.* Barcelona: 1906. 8°.

Contents:

Comisión al Padre Santa Cruz, á Don Alonso Chiri, Cacique de Catinte, y á Cayar, para que entren á la conversión de los indios Manaríes. 20 de Septembre de 1571.

Información de servicios de Martín García de Oñaz y Loyola. Año 1572-1576.

Información de servicios de Francisco Camargo y Aguilar. 1573-1574.

Información de servicios de Francisco Valenzuela 1578-1592.

Informacion de servicios de Alonso Xuáres. 1581-4.

Información de servicios de Francisco Pérez Fonseca 1572-1584.

Provisión de Don Martín Enríquez para que el Gobernador de Vilcabamba, Martín Hurtado de Arbieto, no reparta tierras en el Valle de Maranura en tanto se determina la jurisdicción á que pertenece. 29 de Enero de 1582.

Tres memoriales de Sancho de la Cueva, Presbítero, á S. M. 1583.

Carta del Virrey Conde de Villar á S. M. dando noticia del estado de la provincia de Vilcabamba, y de la residencia intentada al Gobernador Martín Hurtado de Arbieto. 12 de Mayo de 1589.

Real Cédula al Virrey del Perú para que informe sobre las capitulaciones que se hicieron con Martín Hurtado de Arbieto, y si éste ha cumplido lo estipulado. 4 de Abril de 1590.

Expediente promovido por Juan Hurtado de Arbieto en solicitud de la Gobernación de Vilcabamba, como heredero de Martín Hurtado de Arbieto. Año 1594.

Memoriales de Lorenzo Maldonado pidiendo se le concedan Gobernaciones. Año 1598.

Memorial de apuntamientos cerca de lo que conviene hacerse en la guerra del Inga. (Sin fecha.)

Descripción y sucesos históricos de la provincia de Vilcabamba, por Baltasar de Ocampo. (Sin fecha.)

Carta del Conde de Salvatierra á S. M. informándole sobre la supresión del Corregimiento de Vilcabamba, reducción de las doctrinas de Andaguailas, etc. 30 de Marzo de 1650.

Carta de Don Miguel de Aincildegui, visitador de la Caja Real del Cuzco, á S. M., proponiendo la supresión de la Gobernación de Vilcabamba. 18 de Abril de 1685.

Real Cédula aprobando la supresión del Corregimiento de Vilcabamba y agregándolo al de Calca y Lares. 2 de Mayo de 1684.

Informe de la Contaduria General, sobre la unión de las provincias de Calca y Urubamba. 19 de Abril de 1773.

PIETSCHMANN, RICHARD. Bericht des Diego Rodrigues de Figueroa über seine Verhandlungen mit dem Inka Titu Cusi Yupanqui in den Anden von Villcapampa. (Aus den Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historisch Klasse 1910.) 43 pp. 8°.

PRESCOTT, W. H. History of the Conquest of Peru. Ed. by John Foster Kirk. Phil: [c1874]. 2 v. 16°.

RAIMONDI, ANTONIO. El Perú. Lima: 1874–1902. 4 v. Folio.

RELACIONES DE LOS VIREYES Y AUDIENCIAS QUE HAN GOBERNADO EL PERU. Tomo I. MEMORIAL Y ORDENANZAS DE D. FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO. Lima: Imprenta del Estado por J. E. del Campo. 1867. 8°.

ROMERO, CARLOS A. Informe sobre las Ruinas de Choqquequirau. Lima: 1909. 19pp. 8° (Instituto Historico del Peru).

SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA, PEDRO. History of the Incas, by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa; and, The execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru, by Captain Baltasar de Ocampo. Tr. and ed. by Sir Clements Markham. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1907. pl. por. ill. 2 fold. maps. 8°.

(*Note:* In 1908 the Hakluyt Society published as a supplement to this work: Oviedo, Friar Gabriel de. "Account of the Province of Vilcapampa," etc.,—see above, under *Oviedo.*)

SPAIN. MINISTERIO DE FOMENTO. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Publícalas el Ministerio de Fomento. *Perú*. Madrid: 1881–1897. 4v. folio.

SQUIER, E. G. Peru: Incidents of travel and exploration in the Land of the Incas. N. Y.: [c1877]. Ill. 8°.

WIENER, CHARLES. Pérou et Bolivie: Recit de voyage suivi d'études archéologiques et ethnographiques, et de notes sur l'écriture et les langues des populations Indiennes. Paris: 1880. Ill. Maps. Plans. 4°.

DATE DUE

CANTERBURY MUSEUM
LIBRARY

JAN 27 1986

NOV

DEMCO 38-297

TOZZER LIBRARY
3 2044 042 058 644